



# THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY

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## OPUS ULTIMUM

By ALFRED EINSTEIN

THERE is always the danger of approaching a composer's Opus Ultimum—that is, his last work—in a journalistic vein. The last work is apt to stir the listener to maudlin comment, whereas the “last face,” the death-mask, generally leaves the beholder silent. Death-masks are not popular unless surrounded with a romantic aureole and, strangely enough, the most popular “death-mask” of a musician, that of Beethoven, was in reality a life-mask; the real death-mask, made too late after the *post mortem*, awakens horror. I shall not dwell here on “last thoughts,” such as those attributed to certain romantic composers, as, for instance, Weber, Schubert, or Chopin. There is also a subtle difference between the last work upon which a composer was engaged and his last Opus. The last creative effort is not always the last Opus.

But what is the last Opus? Is it the one that rounds out the work of a lifetime, that concludes the *Gesamtwerk*? Is it a matter of fulfilling a destiny? We are in a position to survey the entire life-work of a great master and to arrange it into an organism, the sum of his artistic creation. We can scarcely do otherwise: we can conceive of biography—in fact, of all history—only in a certain order, sometimes an arbitrary one. We cannot imagine *Figaro* without *Don Giovanni* (and *vice versa*), or Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis* without the “Ninth Symphony,”

or Bach's later "Passion according to St. John" without the earlier "Passion according to St. Matthew"; they seem to supplement and complete each other, and we are apt to forget that Bach composed two more Passions that are lost to us. If one were found again, our musical scholars would immediately recognize and prove it to be a "necessary link" in the chain of Bach's works. After ten years no one would be able to imagine his work without it. How slowly and late were the last touches added to the picture of Schubert's creativeness! Can one imagine that years had to pass before the great C Major Symphony was discovered, and decades before the "Unfinished" revealed new heights and depths in Schubert's soul? Almost every creative artist is haunted by the fear of dying before his work has reached completion. The creator sees with his mind's eye his unborn work completed, but he knows that only after it is born can it lead a life of its own and bear witness of him.

Some of our greatest musicians have lived to be very old or have died very young. Those who have strangely and mistakenly been called "frühvollendet" ("too early completed") have either received from Fate an astoundingly early maturity with no further development in later years, or, more often, have had to pay for this early maturity with early death, as did Purcell, Pergolesi, Mozart, Weber, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Chopin. The melancholy, extremely pessimistic Grillparzer did not believe in the so-called "completion" when he wrote the inscription for Schubert's gravestone: "Music entombed here a rich possession, but still much brighter hopes." Still brighter hopes! If we let our imagination roam, it is difficult to conceive what might not have happened in the realm of music if Mozart had lived beyond the age of thirty-seven, or Schubert beyond thirty-one. Mozart, who learned from Haydn only to be outlived by him and to teach the teacher; Mozart, only fourteen years older than Beethoven, whom he normally could have outlived! Schubert only sixteen years older than Wagner, dead when Wagner was fifteen years old! There is no end to the possibilities. But it is better to leave the general aspects until the end and to proceed immediately to particular cases.

#### BACH

The theme is inexhaustible. We must begin somewhere and end somewhere. And we begin with Bach.

In Bach's case there is a last composition and an *Opus Ultimum*, and it is or was not certain which was the *Opus Ultimum*. Bach died on



Tuesday, July 28, 1750, a blind man who had recovered his sight only a few days before his death. The Chevalier John Taylor, Court Oculist to the English king, George III, had operated on him late in 1749 and had discovered the symptoms of an earlier stroke. The same doctor had by strange coincidence operated on Handel a few years before, and described the unsuccessful operation in his "History of the Travels and Adventures of the Chevalier John Taylor" (1761, Vol. I, p. 25). A few days before his death, Bach was still working with his son-in-law Altnikol, dictating to him a chorale-prelude on the melody and text of *Vor deinen Thron tret' ich hiemit*. It was his last piece of work, the continuation and conclusion of a revision of a long series of chorale-preludes known by every organist, the so-called "Schübler" Chorales. A curious story attaches to this last prelude, which is really a conclusion in that, from the ultimate and unimaginable heights of accomplishment, Bach returns in it to his earliest youth, to the form of Pachelbel's organ chorales from which he had begun. One can only begin to speak of these few measures, in which severity and highest fancy are united, in which the last awe before things earthly melts into the first awe inspired by the vision of things divine.

That this ineffable piece has for a long time been regarded as Bach's "last thought" is due to the original edition of his last opus, *Die Kunst der Fuge*. This was begun in 1749. Before Bach died, the greater half had already been engraved under his supervision by a still unidentified publisher. More recent Bach research has pointed out, but not for the first time, in what a deceptive form the work appeared after Bach's death. The unknown publisher ended it with this "last" chorale-prelude so that the buyer would not feel he was getting a bad bargain owing to the incompleteness of the last fugue. For the book was dear: the price was five Thaler, and later Carl Philipp Emanuel had to reduce it to four. And when we perform "The Art of the Fugue" today, we still often end it with the chorale that has organically not the slightest connection with the work! I have always found this ending, to put it mildly, melodramatic. "Here the Composer put away his pen. . . ." Surely one cannot stop an unfinished triple fugue at the 239th measure. It should be given an ending adapting it for practical performance, as was attempted by Busoni in the three different versions of his *Fantasia Contrapuntistica*. Or one should leave it out. In no case should we, after listening to Bach's "Opus Ultimum," which is impregnated with his musical great-

ness and sublimity, be presented with his "last piece of work." The autograph manuscript of the *Kunst der Fuge*, which contains seven more measures of the triple fugue than does the engraved edition, carries this observation, added by Carl Philipp Emanuel: "N.B. While at work on this fugue, where the name B A C H is brought into the countersubject, the composer died." Incidentally, even this unfinished fugue is written strongly and clearly, and shows traces of the growing eye trouble only in the ever diminishing size of the writing. Bach bends lower and lower over his music-paper.

It was uncertain for a long time whether this triple fugue belonged to the *Kunst der Fuge* or not. If not, as Wilhelm Rust and Philipp Spitta thought, then the *Kunst der Fuge* is a complete work. If it did, then the composition must be counted among the great torsos, in which the works of our great musicians are all too rich. It was Gustav Nottebohm who established the relationship of this fugue to the whole work, when he linked its three themes to the main theme of the *Kunst*.

It is neither my intention nor my task to treat the *Kunst der Fuge* here as a work in itself—that would require a separate article. I shall only mention its meaning as the ending of Bach's creative work.

The *Kunst der Fuge* as a living work of art has been rediscovered for us in the last decade, after it had been revealed to the XIXth century, through Nägeli's reprint at Zürich, as an abstract or pedagogical work. Even for the generation immediately before ours it was mostly a sort of manual, intended to serve purposes of instruction. Today it is considered by many to be the pinnacle and crowning achievement of Bach's whole art. And who can deny this? A time may come when our successors will prefer to recognize the culmination of Bach's creative activity in the works of the first decades at Leipzig, or in the instrumental pieces of the Cöthen days, or perhaps even in his earliest efforts. But it is undeniable that in the aging Bach ancient springs begin to well up again—springs which two hundred and fifty years before had been streams, works in which the constructive, the abstract, celebrated their greatest victory, and in which the Middle Ages showed themselves at their most glorious in their music. And the throwback into mystic forms and spaces appears in Bach at a time when the world around him is turning towards "gallantry," when all polyphony is being stamped with the sign of erudition—in other words, of archaism and death. Nowhere could it be made clearer that a genius like Bach does not create for the world

and its wants, but must acquit an obligation to himself and follow an inner law.

But we should not make too much of this throwback. It is true that the symptoms present themselves early. Let us survey the succession of works of Bach's last decade. The third part of the *Clavierübung* closes with the fugue on the Communion Hymn, *Jesus Christus unter Heiland*, and next follow the four duets, in one of which (*i.e.*, in the middle movement of the Duet in F) Spitta "forgives with difficulty a strong scholastic savor." Then come the so-called "Schübler" Chorales; the canonical variations on the Christmas song, *Vom Himmel hoch da komm' ich her*. Next is the *Musikalisches Opfer*—an echo of Bach's visit to Potsdam in May, 1747—, that remarkable mixture of musical "gallantry" and learning, in which the latter outweighs the former because, for the bearer of the dedication, Frederick the Great, it was the learning of "old Bach" that was astonishing and precious. But in this succession of abstract pieces stands the *Aria mit 30 Veränderungen*, in which learning bows to gallantry and completely loses itself in it. The worldly and the ecclesiastical, the abstract and the sensuous Bach are all one. No one side is preponderant. It is possible that, at the end of his life, Bach considered a part of his ecclesiastical works too worldly, too much a *biblia pauperum* in Music. To be sure, it is not difficult to trace, in Bach's complete works, the Baroque as well as the Gothic filiation. No one knows whether Bach tried to preserve a balance between the Gothic and the Baroque; no one understands the secret ways of development and fulfilment. Bach's *Kunst der Fuge* resembles Dante's *Divina Commedia*, which the poet's contemporaries and even the men of the later Renaissance regarded admiringly as the sum of mediæval knowledge, as an encyclopædia of learning, rather than as a work of poetic art. But creations of this sort—testaments of their creators—always possess a greatness that transcends the limits of the time of their origin and reaches far out into the future.

#### HANDEL

The alleged similarity of the two great contemporaries who are often regarded as the "Siamese twins" of music seems to apply even to their deaths. Six months after Bach's death, Handel met the fate of blindness. We know the touching note he set down on the manuscript of "Jephtha" at the end of the chorus that closes the second act:

*biss hierher kommen den 13. Febr. 1751  
verhindert worden wegen relaxation,  
des Gesichts meines linken Auges  
so relaxt.*

Came this far 13th Febr. 1751  
Was prevented on account of the relaxation  
of the sight of my left eye  
so relaxed.

But after ten days he could write on the following page:

*den 23<sup>t</sup> dieses etwas besser worden  
wird angegangen.*

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> this has become somewhat better  
work goes on.

And he succeeds in finishing the composition on August 31, 1751. It took him longer than any of its companions. Then comes complete or almost complete darkness. Handel still writes new arias for new performances of old oratorios, for "Susanna," "Samson," and others. In 1757 he even revises his old "Triumph" (whose text, by Panfili, had been newly translated for him by Morell) to such a degree that it can be considered a partly new composition. But "Jephtha" remains his last Opus.

What does this last Opus mean in relation to the whole of Handel's output? It is the culmination of a series attaining a uniformly high level, surpassed only by the "Messiah." However gloomy the end of Handel's life may seem, the end of his work is perfectly harmonious and representative of himself and of his time. He presents the sharpest possible contrast with Bach. The customary parallel between Bach and Handel is a fallacy. They are contemporaries; but otherwise they have nothing in common, least of all counterpoint; all their conceptions of melody, harmony and rhythm are different. Handel's nearest musical kin are the Italians of the late XVIIth and early XVIIIth century. Measured by them, he stands as a giant. An art historian, one of those who have recognized the (unfortunately undeniable) superiority of historical research in the fine arts over musical research, has said that in the history of music parallels with other arts do not coincide in time: musicians do not belong to a century but to a millennium. Schubert is not the contemporary of the pleasant Viennese painter Moritz von

Schwind, but of Giorgione. Thus, Bach completes not only the Age of the Baroque in music, but also that of the Gothic, each within the other. Handel rounds off the age of Carissimi: the classic Italian Sonata, the classic Italian Cantata, the classic Italian Oratorio. He closes the XVIIth century; he is as a musician neither German nor English, but Italian.

#### HAYDN

Joseph Haydn is an example of a rare case, that of a Master who of his own free will puts an end to his creating, or, shall we say, who sorrowfully recognizes the decline of his forces and resignedly yields to it. Haydn outlived his creative ability, not his fame, which in his failing years climbed to its peak and was attested by countless honors. He himself had often bewailed the beginning and the cause of this growing weakness: the composition of the "Seasons," the first performance of which, on April 24, 1801, exhausted his powers. He had overtaxed himself. He had had to struggle too much with Van Swieten's miserable text. "But there are too few words! . . . I have had to plague myself whole days over one place,—then—no, you won't believe how I have tortured myself." To such a high and mighty librettist he had not dared to make his needs and wishes as a musician detailed and clear enough. On June 5, he made his will. But then new plans were made for three new oratorios of which two had subjects that would lie very close to the heart of an old, religious man: *Das jüngste Gericht* and *Die letzten Dinge*. In the summer, still another Mass came forth, the so-called *Schöpfungsmesse*, also a few three- and four-part songs; and in 1802 Haydn wrote his last music for the Church, one more High Mass, the *Harmonie Messe*. When he was asked to write a new piano sonata for the wife of General Moreau, an invitation that could not be ignored, he practised a little deception and sent a piece he had written long before.

But in 1803, in his seventy-first year, he began his last work, a quartet. Since he began with quartets, he wanted to end with one. Two movements were completed, an Andante Grazioso and a Minuet and Trio. He did not have the strength to add the other two movements. In 1806, he tried his hand once again on songs; but not one of the six pieces that he began ever got beyond the first sketch. Then he decided to publish the chamber-music fragment as his eighty-third Quartet; it is dedicated to Count Moritz von Fries. The agent to the publisher,

Griesinger, described it as the "Swan Song." ("Swan Songs" were becoming fashionable.) To explain and excuse the fragmentary quality of the work, Haydn added to it the musical visiting card of his old age, the little song (many call it a canon) on the text: "Hin ist alle meine Kraft—Alt und schwach bin ich" ("All my strength is gone—old and weak am I").

But the two movements show no signs of weakness, and the only signs of age are those of mastery. There is demonstrated for the last time the trait of character which is one of the signal features of Haydn's greatness, namely discipline of the mind, self-criticism. He only writes that which he still *can* write: the two middle movements of the Quartet. Since the Minuet is in D minor, the work must be considered as in this key, not as a Quartet in B-flat major. And these two movements still have Haydn's full originality; they point towards nothing in the future, they stay within the frame of Haydn's style, but they completely round it out. They are only parts of a whole, but these parts are valid.

#### MOZART

There is certainly no more famous last work than Mozart's "Requiem." The creator must lay it aside unfinished, the pupil must piously complete it. This composition, with its Mozart-Süssmayer relationship, has become the prototype for several cases in more recent times: for Busoni's *Doctor Faust*, finished by Jarnach; for Puccini's *Turandot*, which Franco Alfano brought to a straightforward and simple end.

The popularity of the "Requiem" is rooted partly in the mystery that surrounds it. To this day all are not agreed upon the degree of its authenticity, nor on the "romance" of its origin. The many Mozart novels we possess, undoubtedly gave the impetus to this symbolic romance. A secret messenger, a tall, thin, gray-clothed figure comes to Mozart in the year of his death, 1791, and commissions, at the order of an unnamed person, a "Mass for the Dead." He then, according to Mozart, disappears, returns, bringing with him the stipulated fifty ducats—handsel from the nether world. It is understandable that these strange and, even in the XVIIIth century, unusual circumstances must have thoroughly disturbed Mozart, and still more the imagination of the romantic early XIXth century. It is possible that Mozart may have said he would compose the "Requiem" for himself; he certainly never wrote the Italian letter (dated September 7, 1791) in which the



unknown man is spoken of. "I cannot exclude his image from my mind." This letter is the pious fraud of a romancing person such as Rochlitz or E. T. A. Hoffmann.

The actual history of the inception of the "Requiem" is rather trivial. Since it is well known I only need to outline it. A musical dilettante, Count Franz von Walsegg zu Stuppach of Lower Austria, wanted to have a "Mass for the Dead" performed in memory of his wife who had died in February 1791, and he needed an unknown work because he intended to announce it as his own. He sent his steward Leutgeb to Mozart. The Count's little deceit, prompted by vanity, was parried by Constanze Mozart with a little deceit, prompted by necessity. Since the patron probably would have demanded the return of the honorarium at the sight of an unfinished manuscript, she asked Joseph Eybler to complete the fragment. Eybler began to fill in the instrumentation in the manuscript and added two measures to the "Lacrimosa." Then he saw the impossibility of his task. Süßmayer, Mozart's pupil, thereupon undertook to complete the venture. The Count received the "Requiem" and "Kyrie" in Mozart's autograph and the rest in the writing of Süßmayer, which is remarkably like Mozart's. In 1796, the widow assured the interested Friedrich Rochlitz, contrary to better information, that Mozart had been able to complete the "Requiem" before his death. She could, however, not prevent the truth from finally trickling out. In 1799, she made a half-confession to Breitkopf & Härtel; in 1800, Süßmayer himself gave out an honest account of the facts. He declared that he had done the instrumentation for the first movements, finished the "Lacrimosa," and composed the last three movements himself; for the ending he had repeated the "Kyrie-Fugue" with suitably changed text.

But the real mystery was only beginning. The world would not let itself be robbed of the belief that it possessed a "Requiem" completely from Mozart's hand. The controversy over the genuine and false parts of the "Requiem" has lasted until today and would fill two bulky volumes. Its history would be a history of human fallibility, a memorable warning to be wary. In the second edition of "Köchel" is expressed the belief that "the 'Requiem' is in all its parts Mozart's very own Swan Song, Süßmayer only had to fill out the mechanical part." In the third decade of the XIXth century, musicians like Gottfried Weber and exceptionally clever men like Adolf Bernhard Marx had the misfortune

to declare notoriously genuine parts to be false and *vice versa*. In "Köchel," a volume that should show familiarity with Mozart's ways of working, there are mentioned the "Brouillons" of Mozart which Süßmayer is said to have worked out. But there exist in Mozart's hand only complete scores and others complete as far as they go, together with preparatory drafts for certain difficult contrapuntal places, such as could have been of help only to the composer and to no one else. The only assumption that remains is that Süßmayer found sketches and beginnings for the "Hosanna" and "Benedictus" as he did for the "Lacrimosa." This theory would agree with the newest critical research into problems of style and the psychological investigation of melody made by Edward Sievers. But it is impossible for us to find a solution to the problems of whether a good talent like Süßmayer's could suddenly become genius, for the "Benedictus" is the work of a genius, or whether an honorable character had decorated himself with plumage not his own, or how much the mechanical work of Süßmayer harmed Mozart's creation. The "last word" about the "Requiem" will probably never be spoken.

One of Mozart's biographers believes that the "Requiem," with its own particular combination of a strong religious character and highest art, shows us a picture of the church music which Mozart "thanks to his position at St. Stephen's might have given the world had he lived longer." It seems to us that this is merely the application to church music of a method that Mozart had long applied and realized: the combining of music of gallantry and music of learning, producing a coalescence which Haydn had attempted in a completely different way, and which would furnish sufficient substance for a whole article in itself; a coalescence which Beethoven, at another level of development, was to attempt again. Mozart's solution is the completest, the purest, the most wonderful, by which I do not refer to the finale of the "Jupiter Symphony" nor to the music of the "Armed Men" in the *Zauberflöte*, but rather to other, small wonders in his last instrumental works. Who, after beholding such perfection, wishes to maintain that the death of Mozart really robbed us? This creative work is completed, greater does not exist. But also, who can imagine where it might have led? The report of the autopsy states briefly that on December 5, 1791, the "Well-born Mr. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart" died of acute miliary fever in Rauchsteingasse at the age of 36. The "Requiem" is the last Opus, if

there is one at all. No sketches hint of anything further, nor were Mozart's plans known. He dated the "Requiem" 1792, a year which he did not live to see.

### BEETHOVEN

At first glance, the question of Beethoven's last work is an involved and obscure one. There exists even a so-called "last thought" that is little known, a fragment of a String-Quartet in C major which (together with a piano sonata for four hands) Beethoven had promised the publisher and composer Anton Diabelli and had really begun. Diabelli bought the manuscript from the estate—it came up as number 173 in the auction catalogue—and published it as *Beethoven's letzter musicalischer Gedanke* ("Beethoven's Last Musical Thought") in a collection tastefully entitled *Wiener Lieblingsstücke* ("Favorite Viennese Pieces").

The fragment, an Andante maestoso in  $\frac{3}{4}$  time, *à la Polonaise*, was written in November, 1826, in Gneisendorf at the house of the composer's brother Johann. Beethoven returned to Vienna a dying man; and then the horrible suffering began which, after four operations and unspeakable torments, ended on March 26, 1827. He died needlessly early, a victim of life-long neglect. He died full of plans and projects. He had in mind a Tenth Symphony for the London Philharmonic Society; the introduction was to be in E-flat major, the first Allegro—of which the opening theme is preserved—in C minor. He had promised the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde an oratorio, Bernard's "Sieg des Kreuzes" ("Victory of the Cross"), a theme and text with which, to be sure, he was not greatly in sympathy. He was more seriously considering a "Saul," text by Kuffner, with choruses in the old modes; he had already finished the first part "in his head." He had told this to Grillparzer more than once, and had said very often about Grillparzer's own "Melusine" libretto: "Your opera is finished." He was also contemplating a "Requiem" in the manner of the first "Requiem" of Cherubini, which he preferred to Mozart's. He wanted to write an overture on the notes B-A-C-H. All of this is proof that he was not "finished," nor dried up, that he did not believe he had completed his task.

Beethoven's last Opus comprises the five great string-quartets of which—in the order of composition—the first three are those in E-flat major (Op. 127), A minor (Op. 132), and B-flat major (Op. 130),

all commissioned by Prince Galizin, and the last two those in C-sharp minor (Op. 131), and F major (Op. 135) which were added of his own accord. It is obvious from the opus numbers that they were chosen at random: they give no information about the dates of origin. Beethoven did not end his work with the F major Quartet. The last piece he finished was the Rondo in the B-flat major Quartet which replaces the "Grosse Fuge," so that the "Grosse Fuge" now stands alone with a separate opus number. It lies beyond the reaches of this article to discuss the strange question of whether to play the B-flat major Quartet with the Rondo, according to Beethoven's "last wish" (which in reality was prompted by the publisher Artaria's insistence) or with the "Grosse Fuge," as the composer originally intended. And so the last work of Beethoven remains the F major Quartet which, as has often been emphasized, cannot, in spite of the indescribably beautiful slow movement in D-flat major, compare in substance and power with the other four. This last quartet closes with an almost playful movement, the Finale with the title *Der schwer gefasste Entschluss* ("The Difficult Decision"). But is this in jest or in earnest? Cannot gayety be sublime? Does not the second theme of the movement, with all its softness, suggest a last victory? It seems to me that, in spite of the "accidental" nature of this "last opus" by the greatest sufferer among composers, it forms a logical and fitting conclusion.

#### SCHUBERT

While Mozart lived to the age of thirty-six, Schubert had to be content with thirty-one years of life. Five years less, five years in which it was granted to Mozart to write *Figaro*, *Don Giovanni*, *The Magic Flute*, the three great Symphonies and the Quintet. Truly, we cannot blame Grillparzer for his tombstone inscription.

Schubert had no immediate premonition of death; at least he did not write more feverishly in the first ten months of the year of his death than in previous years. Nevertheless, these ten months brought forth, besides some of the most beautiful songs, the great C major Symphony (March); "Mirjam's Siegesgesang"; the E-flat major Mass; the 92nd Psalm; the three Piano Sonatas in C minor, A major and B-flat major (September); the C major String-Quartet, Op. 163; the Rondo for piano, four hands, Op. 107; and twenty other works which in themselves would have made the reputation of a lesser composer. He died on the 19th of November. From August to October, his last month of good

health, he had written the fourteen songs in the collection, "Schwanengesang;" the scene for voice, piano and clarinet, "Der Hirt auf dem Felsen," opus 129; and a "Benedictus" for an earlier Mass in C major. The order of these pieces, or a more exact dating of them is not known. The song, on words by Seidl, "Die Taubenpost," which is inferior to most of the songs in the "Schwanengesang," is generally considered to be Schubert's last Work. It is in any case a relatively insignificant ending.

One thing is certain: with the year 1828 an epoch in Schubert's life would have come to a close. The last work that Schubert listened to was the C-sharp minor Quartet of Beethoven, which Beethoven himself had not lived to hear performed. Schubert's friends have testified to the state of deep emotion and excitement that the hearing of this work created in him. He would not have imitated it, he was already too great for that; but the after-effect, the fermentation of the impression, would have lifted all his subsequent work to a higher plane. There was precedent in Schubert's life for such mental reaching out and assimilation. Perhaps I should remark here that Schubert is one of the least known, least investigated of all our great masters, and that for him no Wyzewa or Saint-Foix has yet arisen. For example, one unknown chapter in Schubert's development is that of his indebtedness to Rossini. Another influence that Schubert felt most strongly was that of Handel, just as had Beethoven.

Schubert, the greatest harmonic inventor of all time, wanted to master polyphony and counterpoint. Shortly before his death, he arranged for lessons with Simon Sechter. Still, it was not he who took counterpoint lessons, but, later on, Anton Bruckner. And we can only imagine what new fields, new wonders, new miracles would have been bestowed upon German music if Schubert had lived and worked five more years.

#### MENDELSSOHN, SCHUMANN, CHOPIN, BRAHMS

I should like to skip over a number of masters because their "last works" were not characterized by any distinctive quality, as were those of the men we have thus far discussed. I refer to Mendelssohn, who in "Elijah" spoke his last word, and to Chopin. Both died at about the same age and almost in the same year. Only a few people know that Chopin's last work was the Sonata for violoncello and piano, Op. 65, which was published in October, 1847. It is surely a composition that occupies no very conspicuous place in Chopin's musical output.

But when it comes to Schumann, it is a sorrowful task to discuss the last work, the one that was written before his complete collapse, the final contribution to a series that shows evidence only of an ever increasing failing of his mental power and imagination. Schumann had neither the perception nor the gift of self-criticism that Haydn demonstrated when he refused to command his unwilling Muse. It is on the early works of Mendelssohn and Schumann—and even of Chopin—that the spotlight of fame rests. Mendelssohn's Overture to "A Midsummer Night's Dream," and Chopin's C minor Sonata would be enough to guarantee the composers their places among the masters. And Schumann could have stopped with the C major Fantasy, Op. 17, without losing his share of immortality.

It is a different question with Brahms. Brahms is one of the great composers who reached fulfillment, and, however doleful his last year, he had at least the good fortune to finish his task. I should like to point out that his last work is not clearly defined; it is divided among three opus numbers. It seems proved that he worked last, that is to say, in May and June, 1896, on the eleven chorale settings which are related to the earliest exercises of his youth, perhaps to the A-flat minor Organ Fugue of 1856; and, strangely enough, of these settings, half impersonal, half personal, the last uses the melody, *O Welt, ich muss Dich lassen*. Preceding these are the "Vier Ernste Gesänge," containing a confession of pessimism (*Denn es gehet dem Menschen wie dem Vieh*), and a glance, veiled with tears, into a great brightness: "And now abideth Faith, Hope, Charity, these three; but the greatest of these is Charity."

Here speaks Brahms, bringing an offering for the dead—some say for Clara Schumann, others for Elisabeth von Herzogenberg; but, without knowing it, it was for himself that he was singing a song of departure. The antepenultimate "work" are the two Clarinet Sonatas in F minor and E major, Op. 120. They are the artistic legacy of Brahms: the proof that mastery was still possible in the XIXth century—that the whole burden of the musical past could rest on the shoulders of a contemporary German musician, and that this inheritance could become a true possession.

#### WAGNER

Wagner left no "last theme." Beethoven's, Schubert's, Bruckner's last themes could be expressed only in notes. Wagner's musical gifts were never absolute in their greatness for, in spite of their greatness, they were always subordinated to some unrelated purpose, such as the



drama or a so-called "Weltanschauung." His "last work," characteristically, was a cultural-political newspaper article.

It was over an article, *Über das Weibliche im Menschlichen* ("On the Feminine in Humanity"), for the "Bayreuther Blätter," that Wagner was brooding on the 12th and 13th of February, 1883. He died without finishing it; the last words he wrote were "Love-Tragedy." Apparently Wagner did not write another note of music after the completion of *Parsifal* on December 25, 1881. We know of projects that were not carried out: he had planned a Buddha drama, *Die Sieger* ("The Victors"), of which the underlying thought was so completely expressed in *Parsifal* that the sketch could scarcely have had much importance in Wagner's eyes. We hear of four dramas and a comedy that Wagner is said to have had "fully drafted" in his head as early as 1872. They are: *Luther*, *Hans Sachsens zweite Ehe*, *Herzog Bernhard von Weimar* and *Friederich der Grosse und Lessing*. But it is doubtful whether any such schoolmaster subjects ever haunted Wagner's brain. With *Parsifal*, the musician Wagner had pronounced his last word, and after it nothing more could come.

Really, could nothing more come? A writer about Wagner—not a German—recently remarked, and rightly, that on the 13th of February, 1883, not Wagner's imagination or brain, but his heart ceased to function; that an almost lifelong battle in Dresden, Zürich, Paris, Munich, Bayreuth, had prematurely worn away the strength of Wagner's heart muscles. Actually, *Parsifal* shows no slackening of mental power. Perhaps a slackening of creative power, if one wants to split hairs; it does not have the full-blooded vitality of *Tristan*. But the lessened sensuousness was perhaps in keeping with the more spiritual story. Even the "glow" of the music in the second act of *Parsifal* shines as if through a veil. And if we know that this second act cost Wagner endless trouble—he had to stop composing in the Love Scene—we must remember also that exactly the same exhaustion overcame him when writing the third act of *Tristan* and the first act of the *Meistersinger*. Had Wagner's heart held out a little longer, his victorious, heroic life and work as a composer would not have ended, his tireless brain would have gone on producing music-dramas, not merely critical, cultural, and political essays. Only seemingly was this life-work brought to a harmonious end.

#### VERDI

When Verdi last set pen to paper, the result was neither an article

nor letters but, quite appropriately, music—real music. Verdi's last work is the "Quattro pezzi sacri" consisting of the *Ave Maria* (*scala enigmatica*) for a *cappella* chorus; the *Laudi alla Vergine Maria*, after Dante's *terze rime*, for women's voices; and the *Stabat Mater* and *Te Deum* for double chorus and orchestra. The *Ave Maria* was planned in 1889, but the four pieces were written down for the first time in 1895 and 1896 by an eighty-three year old man. Verdi himself characterized the *Ave Maria* as a childhood work, and it is little more than a curiosity, an artistic *tour-de-force*. But the *Laudi* and especially the two larger choral pieces are products of the greatest and most mature mastery and of unexceptionable creative power. What do they mean? They are an epilogue and a legacy. The last message that Verdi wrote holds such a key to these remarkable pieces as one could scarcely have expected of him. When the Countess Negroni-Prati suggested that he set to music the prayer that Queen Margherita wrote after the murder of her husband, he answered that modern music was too swollen and *ricercato* to do justice to such words, one would have to go back three hundred years to find the right medium. He sought, in his passionate love for truth, a new simplicity in music. He did not want a return to the past, but rather a bond with it and with the masters whom he honored—shall we say, Palestrina and Benedetto Marcello? The *Stabat Mater* and the *Te Deum* are examples of such a new-old art, an art of tradition and of personal creation as well. The almost ninety-year old man made a few sketches for the prayer of the Queen in July, 1900. They were his last notes. He died exactly a half year later, on January 27, 1901.

The four pieces are, as I said, an epilogue. Verdi's really last work is *Falstaff*, performed for the first time on February 9, 1893, forty-four years ago, the most astounding creation of old age that exists. The question that confronts us is this: Was *Falstaff* necessary, inevitable, in the whole line of Verdi's work? How would we have judged his work if, to express it very tritely, Verdi had died at seventy or seventy-five, and ended his operas with *Otello*? If, as with Wagner, the heart had left the unweakened brain in the lurch? We would then say: Verdi is a master of tragic passion; not the smallest gleam of humor ever brightened the prodigious realm of his dark melodic power. The *opera buffa* called *Il finto Stanislao*, the work of a twenty-year old boy does not count; it was a failure into the bargain. And the comic scenes in *La Forza*

*del Destino* are not really funny; the preaching monk does not excite any comfortable cheerfulness in us, his scene is there merely for the sake of contrast. As for the rough porter, Fra Melitone, he is not for one moment a *buffo* character, but rather an insolent man possessing the same kind of operatic "reality" as does the grave and worthy prior. In no other of Verdi's operas does one find even the slightest inclination towards humor. And now the old master writes a work that gives his whole past the lie, so to speak, an *opera buffa* raised to the n<sup>th</sup> power, the sublime example of its kind. *Falstaff* throws a light back over all of Verdi's previous work. It changes the aspect of this work; there must be more to it than we believed; the master who could create such an opera did not write *Trovatore* as mere hand-organ music. And, indeed, the brighter ones among us have already come to the conclusion that Verdi's secret (I am not now speaking of the so-called secrets of form) lies as deep as Wagner's, and is much less obvious than is that of the calculating Wagner—rationalizing sometimes to the point of excess.



If any conclusion can be drawn, it must take into consideration the question of *history*, the history of the creativeness of a great man, which we call biography, and of the interrelation between artistic happenings, which we call history of art. History has been called "putting sense into the senseless." In other words, we must, as we trace it, read a sense of higher mental and moral necessity into a sequence of happenings that may appear to have only a physical consequentiality, and whose occurrence in itself would seem foolish and futile. It is we who put order into these events, separate the apparently essential from the apparently unessential, and make "History" of them. And if we want to investigate the history of art and music at all, we must collect all the facts and bring them into proper connection in order to interpret them correctly. Beethoven did not merely follow after Haydn and Mozart and Cherubini, he came *out* of them. He was their product *plus* the ever unknown quantity—eternally unpredictable—which is called personality, individuality, and which, of course, determined the real Beethoven. But, granted this unknown quantity, the history of art shows a development much more logical, much more comprehensible than does that of political history, precisely because in art there exists a clear "descent"

of schools and methods which is so often absent in political ideas and creeds.

The history of the individual artist is much more problematical. Can we properly say: "The work of this man was cut off short, the development of that man was complete"? In the history of musicians, that which we call Fate seems in too many cases to have raged blindly and cruelly and so to have robbed us of the finest and ripest fruit. There comes to mind that remarkable chapter with which Goethe ended his biography or appreciation of Winckelmann. There could not have been a more senseless or violent end than Winckelmann's; he was murdered out of mere covetousness by his servant, while on the way back from Italy to Germany. And now hear what Goethe wrote:

He was at the summit of the greatest happiness he could have wished for, withdrawn from the world. . . . And . . . we should consider him fortunate in that he stepped up to the dwelling of the Blessed from the peak of human existence, in that a short fright, a quick pain took him away from the living. He never felt the infirmities of old age, nor the decline of his mental power. He lived as a man, and went from here a complete man. Now he enjoys the advantage of living on in the memory of posterity as an eternally vigorous and strong personality; for, in whatever form a man leaves the earth, he wanders among the shadows; and so Achilles remains ever present for us as the eternally striving youth. That Winckelmann died early benefits us too. From his tomb radiates the breath of his power and strengthens us, and arouses in us the urge always to carry on and forward with zeal and love what he began.

If this is not meant to be rhetorical, and it is not, then it is superhuman, that is to say, godlike, heroic. And so we will admit that in the history of music, in the life of a musician, there rules a demon; that things come to pass according to a higher plan; and that each "last work" is, even if not obviously so, not only the ultimate but the consummate, not only an end but a completion.

*(Translated by Elisabeth Sperry Smith)*

## ALFREDO CATALANI

(1854-93)

By JOHN W. KLEIN

"CATALANI, once considered a powerful inspiration, is nowadays forgotten." With this single phrase, Dr. Oscar Bie, in his monumental "History of Opera" (a work that displays an almost unique knowledge of the subject), disposes of one of the most profoundly original and perhaps the most cruelly underestimated of all Italian composers, one whose historical importance is considerable and whose subtle and delicate music is a source of constant enjoyment to the few who know it.

Dr. Bie's attitude is that of most authorities on music. How brief and perfunctory are the references to Catalani in all the musical dictionaries! Whenever you mention the name, nine musicians out of ten imagine you are referring to a prima donna, famed in the days of Napoleon I. And yet this victim of undeserved oblivion is the very man whom the not too favorably disposed Verdi termed "a splendid musician" (an epithet he would never have dreamt of applying to any other member of the young Italian operatic school of the 'nineties), the composer whom Toscanini has proclaimed one of the most inspired musicians of his age. How, indeed, is it possible that so significant a figure should have been consistently and inexcusably neglected and ignored by conductors, executants, and gramophone-record makers alike?

No doubt Catalani's output is small. It is, in fact, pathetically fragmentary. This may partly account for—though it cannot for one moment justify—the surprising neglect that has been his lot. Everything appears to have conspired against him: he was badly served by his librettists, he was consistently unsuccessful, he was always ailing, and he died young, disconsolate, and embittered. His death passed almost unnoticed, yet it must be considered the worst disaster that has befallen Italian music since the early decease of Bellini. And the comparison is, if anything, not in favor of the master of Catania, who—though he has the same peculiar vein of elegiac melancholy as Catalani—never possessed the latter's intense and almost pathetic spirituality, his passionate sincerity and singleness of purpose.

Catalani was not the type of composer who adapts himself easily to the tastes of the day and who consequently receives instant recognition and appreciation. Shortly before his death, in 1893, he remarked, half bitterly, half in jest: "The others could do the trick; I never could." The others were Mascagni, Leoncavallo, Puccini, and Franchetti, whose operatic triumphs followed one another in quick succession. Yet how grateful we should be that Catalani could not "do the trick," but that—doggedly and sorrowfully—he went on writing his dreamy, melancholy, and unappreciated music, trusting that one day it might meet with some measure of recognition.

In spite of Toscanini's passionate and untiring championship, it cannot be said that Catalani has ever been popular, even in Italy, though his name is honored and one work of his, *La Wally*, still frequently performed. He remains a strangely isolated and misunderstood figure. The general public (which feels that his music is not even specifically Italian) regards him with a lukewarm interest bordering on apathy. The critics (who cannot place him in any category, for he belongs to no school) find his music pointless and lacking in character. Even the musicians of the *avant-garde* have scarcely done him justice; they have resented his uncritical acceptance of the strangely old-fashioned libretti with their fantastically legendary themes, to which even his lovely and moving music cannot entirely reconcile us. Ildebrando Pizzetti (a penetrating, yet in this case curiously obtuse, critic) takes a malicious delight in comparing the delicate, enchanting operas of Catalani to the sensational and cheaply theatrical novels of Georges Ohnet. He deplores—and rightly—the romantic absurdity of Catalani's libretti, but he ruthlessly and unjustifiably underrates his exquisite music, and scathingly ridicules those who had ventured to consider him a great operatic composer.

Perhaps, after all, Catalani can scarcely be called a great operatic composer. He lacked the necessary vitality and exuberance. His characterization is, on the whole, not salient enough; his personages—though clearly conceived and consistently drawn—are occasionally somewhat devoid of individuality. He was, moreover, entirely wanting in any kind of theatrical trickery, in what has been termed "the fire of the footlights"; he was never completely at his ease in the Italy of the Veristic composers—he who possibly alone possessed the symphonic temperament in which his Italian contemporaries were so conspicuously





Alfredo Catalani

Care amico Filippo.

Casa 10 di Vienna.

Arriva ora la notizia — che  
la Dejanice, rappresentata  
in tedesco al teatro di Pra-  
ga, ha avuto un successo  
clamoroso, tale da attirare  
la la strada dei principa-  
li teatri della Germania.

Vi sarà dunque presto  
se volete venirvi a vedere  
nella Germania.

Sussistono tutte le probabilità  
che presto si vengano  
di offrire e recitare nel  
meglio modo.

M. 95

C. 183

Alfred Catalani

Autograph letter from Alfredo Catalani to the music critic, Filippo  
Filippi, thanking him for clippings concerning the success of *Dejanice*  
at Prague

(By Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

lacking. Yet—whatever his ability as a dramatist or a creator of traditional grand opera—he fully deserved the praise of a Verdi and the enthusiastic support of a Toscanini.<sup>1</sup> When we listen to the third act of *Loreley* (which is full of ethereal music) or to the poignantly expressive preludes of *La Wally*, it is difficult to avoid coming to the conclusion that in artistic truth and sensitive vision, no less than in exquisite workmanship, the operas of Catalani stand higher than those of any Italian composer of the second half of the XIXth century, Verdi (but only in his later masterpieces) excepted. Boito may have had more culture, Puccini more theatrical acumen, Mascagni more vigor, but in imaginative insight and intensity of feeling Catalani transcends them all.

During his lifetime Catalani was repeatedly accused of seeking to destroy the traditional character of Italian opera, of straining too consciously after originality, of following too slavishly in the footsteps of Wagner. "Another step—and we shall be completely Germanized," Verdi had exclaimed. The aged maestro was far too acute and discerning a judge not to realize the genius of Catalani; but he imagined that the youthful musician—who was, indeed, by nature an instrumental composer—was mistakenly striving to give undue preponderance to the symphonic element in his work. He who could write an *Otello* without a single prelude, appears to have resented Catalani's tendency to introduce one before nearly every act.

It would be difficult to overrate the beauty of Catalani's delicately wrought and deeply expressive preludes, which represent a most important side of his creative activity and are perhaps his chief claim to greatness as well as to remembrance. They alone should be sufficient to ensure his immortality. They are, indeed, constructed with the most consummate art, an art, however, that never obtrudes itself. No Italian composer of Catalani's age had a more fastidious taste, a keener sensibility or a more subtle sense of atmosphere. How cheap, tawdry and meretricious is a Puccini or Mascagni intermezzo beside one of the preludes of *La Wally*. I know of no operatic composer—with the possible exception of Bizet—who can write a short intermezzo with such exquisite perfection as Catalani.

His best work is undeniably contained in his three operas: *Dejanice* (1883), *Loreley* (1890) and *La Wally* (1892). The minor works that preceded them (including a one-act opera *La Falce*, written to a libretto

<sup>1</sup> Who named two of his children—Walter and Wally—after characters in *La Wally*.

of Boito's) are charming, but too slight and lacking in individuality to be of any permanent interest. However, no less a critic than Ernest Reyer considered *La Falce* a genuine little masterpiece and one of the most amazing instances of precocity in all art.

The writer will not easily forget his first impressions of *Dejanice* when it was revived at Florence, in 1924, after a period of neglect lasting nearly forty years. It was difficult not to be prejudiced at the very outset by the incredible libretto of this *opera ballo*, a strangely naïve and incoherent work woefully deficient in common-sense, a kind of hotch-potch of *Aida*, Ponchielli's *Gioconda*, and Mozart's *Idomeneo*. The characters, moreover, were so utterly unreal that one was naturally inclined to expect the very worst. Yet all fears were instantly dispelled by the indescribably fascinating prelude with its enchanting blend of strength and delicacy and its faint and almost appealing suggestion of an exquisitely Italianized *Lohengrin*. Indeed, throughout the work, the music is deeply poetic and imaginative, while in the last act there is an orchestral climax of astonishing force and intensity.

There can be little doubt that *Dejanice* is an important milestone in the development of Italian opera. It is—despite its libretto—a work of ruthless sincerity, without any sensationalism or senseless vocal embellishments. Already here we remark—what is yet more obvious in the later operas—Catalani's capacity for steeping each scene in a light and atmosphere of its own. (In this respect he resembles Wagner.) This is most noticeable in the fourth act which is in itself a masterpiece that would alone suffice to justify the revival of this work. Everything in this act is well-nigh perfect, commencing with the moving little prelude, continuing with the long monologue of Dejanice, so sad and hopeless, the profoundly touching music perfectly wedded to the bitter, melancholy words. And in the following duet that culminates in a terrible—yet understandable—act of vengeance, the music attains a tragic power and dramatic force that has been rarely—if ever—surpassed in Italian opera. Few composers can, indeed, be violent with such eloquence as Catalani; and when his characters are thoroughly roused, they are formidable and impressive, not merely noisy. While hearing the last act of *Dejanice*, it is difficult not to be convinced that the delicate and wistful Catalani was after all destined for the theater.

There is no scene of such sinister grandeur and intense dramatic concentration in Catalani's following opera *Loreley*, a revised version of an earlier work named *Elda*. It is a dreamy, melancholy work based

on Heine's poem, the subject of which had already tempted Mendelssohn, and that literally obsessed Catalani. It is difficult to understand the reason, since it is sadly lacking in human interest. The libretto, moreover, though skilfully enough written, has an element of absurdity, while the story is too unreal to carry conviction. Nevertheless, Catalani frankly—and repeatedly—admitted that it was his favorite work, and he devoted several years of unremitting labor to its completion.

*Loreley* is a curious and not altogether satisfactory opera. It is essentially a transition work. More than any other of his later operas it holds the secret of Catalani's limitations. The tantalizing inequality of much of the music, its occasional *longueurs* enable one to understand—at least to a certain extent—why a man of such undeniable genius met with so much opposition and even derision, and never received the general appreciation that was his due. There are too many promising beginnings that are not properly developed. Moments of weird and compelling charm, of truly unforgettable poignancy, are followed by stretches of somewhat insipid and colorless music in which the composer vainly endeavors to suggest supernatural beauty and ecstasy. Can it be possible that he himself failed to realize where his true talent lay and that the mystic, legendary theme that had so fired his fancy was not calculated to unseal the secret fountains of his genius? At any rate, whenever there is a touch of genuine human emotion in the libretto, the composer's imagination instantly flares up and he almost invariably expresses himself in an admirably simple manner. The heroine has only to murmur: "*E già quasi credea che l'amor mio posto avessi in oblio*" ("And already I almost thought you had ceased to love me") and these few, commonplace words are set to music of such inexpressible poignancy that one cannot think of them without emotion. No less unforgettable is the funeral march of Anna, simple, strangely visionary, one of the loveliest and most moving funeral marches in existence. Few things in all music convey such a sense of forlorn beauty. After the pathos and wistful spirituality of this little masterpiece, the well-known "Danza delle Ondine" (Dance of the Water Sprites), by far the most popular piece of music that Catalani ever wrote, appears to be almost in the nature of an anti-climax, yet it would be unjust to depreciate its charm and melancholy sweetness.

On the whole, *Loreley* strikes a less distinctive note than *Dejanice* and even shows a definite decline in power. It lacks the vitality of the earlier work while, on the other hand, it is infinitely less spontaneous

than Catalani's last and greatest opera, *La Wally*. It has obviously been too frequently retouched; there is something labored about it; certain characters (that bear a curious affinity to the personages of *Tannhäuser*) fail to come wholly to life; a great deal of the music is static, not of the utmost dynamic force, as is that of the last act of *Dejanice*. It is regrettable that this opera should be Catalani's best-known work outside Italy. It inevitably makes him appear a less important and significant figure than, in fact, he is.

*Loreley* had appeared in the same year as Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana* and was completely overshadowed by this crude and vigorous melodrama. Its reception was, indeed, undisguisedly listless, if not hostile. In Italy there is a widespread belief that the undeniable failure of his favorite work did much to hasten Catalani's death. "Its lack of success has been one of the worst sorrows of my wretched existence," the composer bitterly exclaims. A profound discouragement appears to have overwhelmed the sensitive musician, though it does not seem to have checked his creative activity. "Think," he writes to a friend, "I have been working for twelve years and my profession gives me neither spiritually nor materially what I require and what it should give me. Even if you write a masterpiece, you run the risk of its never being heard! Ah, there is so much bitterness in my soul and I am terrified at the thought of my future. What a comedy this world is and how weary I am of it!"

No doubt Catalani's increasing inability to perform his professional duties at the Milan Conservatory—owing to the insidious disease that was rapidly undermining his health—may partly account for this outburst of despair. Yet even otherwise there was much cause for disappointment and profound discouragement. The critics referred to Catalani's work with ill-disguised hostility; the public listened with polite indifference. The composer felt that—after so many years of tireless effort—he was making no headway. In his despair he clutched at a libretto that was unworthy of him, and that contained all the ingredients of the typical, sensational melodrama of the time: bloody revenge, hairbreadth escapes, suicides, and attempted murder. This libretto, a pseudo-romantic story of Tyrolean peasant life, was based on an exceedingly popular—but colorless and essentially trivial—novel entitled "Die Geier Wally" by Wilhelmine von Hillern.

Thus, as far as the subject is concerned, *La Wally* represents a very definite concession on the part of Catalani to the somewhat depraved



tastes of the public of the time. He had, indeed, chosen a sordid theme that would have appealed to the most thorough-going of the Veristic composers of the 'nineties. Yet he fondly imagined he had discovered a subject "full of passion, of color, of poetry." Rarely has a composer been more wholly possessed by the finer aspects of his theme. His ardent imagination embellished the feeble libretto that had been hastily concocted by the indefatigable Illica; he threw himself body and soul into his task. Never for one single instant did he sacrifice his dignity or his artistic integrity; and it must always remain a matter of wonder that with so essentially repulsive and even vulgar a theme he should, nevertheless, have succeeded in producing such a noble and compelling tragedy (truly a creation "full of passion, of color, of poetry").

I have little hesitation in pronouncing *La Wally* one of the finest and most original of Italian operas, only surpassed by the masterpieces of Verdi's old age. How difficult it is to believe it is the work of a stricken man! It is so fresh and strong. It has not the same stylistic inequalities as *Loreley*; it has none of the somewhat wearisome prolixity of the earlier work; its general level of inspiration is distinctly higher. It is a big work, for all its delicacy, its jewelled workmanship. It is also, in spite of occasional absurdities, for which the librettist is entirely responsible, a genuine music-drama, in the best sense of the term. Whatever its dramatic deficiencies (and it shows a surer instinct for the theater than any other opera of Catalani's), it possesses a charm, an imaginative vigor, a profound and simple poignancy, that constantly move and delight one. Besides, few operas are more entrancingly melodious. How enchanting are its dances! No dance has a more intoxicatingly joyous appeal than the bewitching "Danza del Bacio," a worthy pendant to the more melancholy "Danza delle Ondine" in *Loreley*. There is a truly Bizetian grace about the delightful quartet of the second act. Yet Catalani's genius is equal to more exacting situations. His chief dramatic scenes are singularly alive and impressive. The exultant finale of the third act is one of the most inspiring things in modern Italian opera, surpassed only by Wally's farewell to her home (*Ebben? Ne andrò lontana*). No air in Italian opera (Verdi not excepted) possesses more genuine poetry, more spiritual exaltation. It seems, indeed, futile to say that this song is lovely and dignified; it is infinitely more; it is like a revelation in music of the most secret and sacred aspirations and regrets of the human soul. What a strangely soaring quality this chaste and noble music possesses and how entirely

lacking it is in the cloying sweetness and hysterical overemphasis that ruin so many of the best airs of Puccini and Mascagni!

There are two preludes in *La Wally*, both of outstanding loveliness. There is a rare simplicity of invention in the exquisite little prelude to the third act; it has a shy, poignant charm that is strangely wistful and that lingers in the memory. It is a little masterpiece of refined and delicate beauty. No less moving, but more impressive and forceful is the magnificent prelude to the last act, the most inspired piece of orchestral music that Catalani ever wrote and the culminating point, in some respects, of his entire creative activity. The sheer magical, evocative power of this music and its superb imaginative fervor are quite extraordinary. Somber and ardent, this prelude is deeply and genuinely tragic; the spirit of death seems to hover over it. It is full of melancholy foreboding, of passionate rebellion, yet it closes on a note of resigned sorrow that is infinitely touching. If Wally's song was a farewell to home, this prelude is surely a farewell to life, one final reckoning with all the joys and sorrows of human existence.

*La Wally* met with a somewhat mixed reception, the public was impressed, if not enthusiastic; one or two of the critics grudgingly admitted the lofty beauty of some of the music. Puccini was entranced by it and appears to have succumbed for a time to Catalani's influence. The last act of *Manon Lescaut* (which depicts the lonely death of the lovers in the prairies) is very obviously modelled on the last act of *La Wally*. Subsequently, in that fascinating little opera of Puccini's ripest period, *Il Tabarro*, in the curiously haunting opening measures of the work, we are once again reminded of Catalani. There is the same genuine feeling for local color and a somewhat similar method of creating atmosphere, though Puccini has little of the subtle and elusive delicacy of Catalani.

No doubt, Catalani's almost complete lack of appreciation for literary values is partly responsible for his relative lack of success. He continually blundered in his choice of libretti and he never appears to have fully realized the importance of a good basic material. But this should not deter enthusiasts from studying and even producing his works; they will be amply rewarded by the revelation of beauties that one does not generally expect to find in Italian opera of the 'nineties, beauties of the first order that make one wonder how music, possessing so strange a magnetism, could ever have been so unaccountably neglected.

## SOVIET MUSIC AND MUSICIANS

By WILLIAM KOZLENKO

THE SOVIET COMPOSER, as an artist, works under circumstances psychologically different from those affecting any Western composer. It is therefore important, in evaluating musical life in the U.S.S.R., to understand the forces that created these circumstances, that is, the ideological forces of the cultural revolution. This produced the reconstruction of a philosophy, a new economic, social-æsthetic *Weltanschauung*, a recognition of the social aspects of art as an organizing force in mass-consciousness. As Lenin said, "Art functions in conjunction with the formation of social consciousness and influences the social-economic relations of society." His principle, contrary to the one sponsored by the adherents of art for art's sake, repudiates most emphatically the proposition that music, and all other art as well, exists solely for the elect, the specially endowed individuals of a society. The Soviet composer regards music as an expression of and for the masses; for him, its very life-source emanates from them. The fact that folk-music and the works of some of the greatest composers, such as Bach, Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Haydn, Brahms, Wagner, and Sibelius, did not issue from the so-called "aristocratic stratum," but from the very heart of the common people, tends to substantiate his attitude.

If we compare the musical events of Russia's recent past—for example, those of the early part of the XXth century, which were affected by the art-for-art's-sake theory—with contemporary musical achievements in the Soviet Union, striking psychological and æsthetic differences become evident.

Under the Tsar, the upper classes looked upon music—even symphonic music, with which this article is chiefly concerned—as a pleasant, hedonistic diversion from the prosaic cares of life, superfluous yet necessary; the "lower classes" (peasants and workers) had little opportunity to become familiar with the standard literature. Most musicians felt that there was nothing to be gained by trying to reach the masses as a collective audience or by resorting to their folk-music as a source of melodic material. There were several composers, however (Balakirev

and Musorgsky come immediately to mind), who, in the second half of the XIXth century, displayed a revolutionary-democratic tendency in their selection of subject matter.

The possibilities of presenting a new work in a large form depended, of course, on the good graces of the official authorities who controlled the theaters, opera-houses, and concert halls. The more radical sections of bourgeois society were too poor financially and too weak politically to support new revolutionary tendencies in art. At about the time of the 1905 uprising—an event which the Soviet historians term the “dress rehearsal” of the October Revolution—two prominent musicians, Alexander Siloti and Serge Koussevitzky, organized a series of symphonic concerts which attempted to be independent of official regulation. But, admirable as was the artistic purpose of these concerts, too many obstacles were thrust in the way of the two pioneers for them to achieve any notable success with their venture. The consequence was that many new works written in a revolutionary, modern harmonic idiom were forbidden performance by the authorities.



The Russian creative musician, during the period of the October Revolution, was in a somewhat serious dilemma. Russian music, as exemplified by the technically advanced works of Scriabin, Miaskovsky, and Stravinsky, may have been of the highest artistic value, as foreign musicians and critics affirmed, but the fact remains that in no other country at that time was the gap so formidable between the important composers and the huge masses as in Russia. Economic and social factors did much to widen the schism. Few opportunities existed of disseminating music on a large scale to the masses. The important societies of fashionable musical amateurs were few in number and exerted little influence, since performances of new works were sponsored mainly by wealthy individuals in their own homes. Furthermore, cheap editions of important musical compositions, old and new, were unavailable.

The reputations of almost all the eminent Russian composers then alive were first established in foreign countries. This was owing to the few opportunities they had of obtaining performances at home, to the narrow and circumscribed body of listeners available, and to the lack of

means of enlarging it. History shows that such men as Glinka, Borodin, Musorgsky, Tchaikovsky, Stravinsky, and Prokofiev received their largest measure of recognition abroad.

Many of the composers who remained in Russia at the time of the Revolution were confronted with the task of writing songs, dealing with the motives of labor, struggle, and victory, for the proletariat and peasantry. These composers, because of previous training and in some instances because of personal idiosyncrasy, were unprepared to satisfy the cultural demands of the masses, and found themselves in a position bordering upon isolation. Some of the most distinguished musicians were unable to adjust themselves to the new social order, and their precarious efforts to write the kind of music they thought was wanted merely showed them to be ideologically unfitted to satisfy the æsthetic needs of the community. Hence, Russian music, though claiming several internationally famous names, was creatively arid during the first few years after the Revolution.

The developing proletarian society, meanwhile, urgently demanded the composition of new mass-songs. It was necessary to find musicians who would respond to the changed cultural requirements, men who could evolve a style easily intelligible to the musically untrained masses and at the same time conformable to the revolutionary-æsthetic patterns of the new regime. A group of young and, at the time, inexperienced composers banded together in 1924 into an Association of Proletarian Musicians, known as RAPM. They undertook to write songs of a decidedly revolutionary character, expressing the realistic poetry to be found in the lives of the victorious and emancipated workers and peasants, portraying in music the outstanding events of the Russian upheaval, using symphony and song as a means of propaganda. Five of these young men have attained special distinction: Koval, Chembergi, Schecter, Bielyi, and the late Davidenko. These composers, like many others, have written songs for chorus and solo, and have tried also to create revolutionary operas and oratorios. The oratorio form must here be understood, of course, not as possessing its traditionally religious character, but as a special art form developed by the Soviet composer to narrate social events, with the aid of chorus, solo, and recitative.

Friction was bound to occur, however, between the inexperienced composers of the RAPM and the group of older and maturer musicians who, though not yet part of their social *milieu*, were making strenuous

efforts to adjust themselves to it. A violent struggle ensued between representatives of the younger and older factions. But, before the controversy could get out of control, the editors of the leading cultural publications in the U.S.S.R. suggested certain amicable measures by which to win over all the older men to the new cause. These editors realized that men like Glazounov, Miaskovsky, and Glière, having their intellectual and spiritual roots in the rich historical past, could by their vast experience contribute much to the greater progress of musical culture in the new Soviet regime. In trying to win over such important personalities as cultural allies, the editors were simply conforming to the wise exhortation of Lenin: "This party must constantly fight against the non-serious and disdainful attitudes towards old cultural inheritance." The fact that the older composers, such as Glazounov, Ippolitov-Ivanov, Glière, and Maximilian Steinberg, had to be enlisted in the service of musical rehabilitation, does not mean that they did not try from the very outset to serve the masses of workers and peasants by their creative work, and to reflect in some manner the basic problems of socialistic reconstruction in their music.

One of the chief problems in Soviet musical organization between 1924 and 1932 was thus the integration of the old and the new. It was successfully solved largely as a result of the friendly attitude of the government towards classical art. "Throughout the years of the revolution," declares Nicholas Slonimsky, "classical art was never under fire; intense research work is going on in the U.S.S.R., and volumes have been published by the *Gosizdat* (Government Press) with new materials on Musorgsky, Tchaikovsky, and Borodin. The *Sovietskaya Musica*, a monthly magazine, surpasses foreign magazines of the same type in thoroughness of research and general interest of material."

But, until the spring of 1932, when the Composers Union was firmly intrenched, organizational activity had been at a complete impasse. Only after all philosophical, technical, musical, and dialectical differences had been eliminated, could the Union draw to itself native talent from the many smaller Soviet nationalities (Georgian, Azerbaijanian, Ukrainian, Armenian, and White Russian) with which to serve the musical exigencies of the vast community. A large number of young and talented composers have emerged from each of these Soviet provinces. Many of them—such as Meitus, Borisov, Kozlenko, and Koljada from the Ukraine; Arakishvilly and Paliashvilly from Georgia; and Spendiarov,



Ter-Gevordyan, Karozarkaryan, Kushnarev, Aram Hachaturyan, and Nicolai Chembergi from Armenia—have revealed remarkable talent and have successfully mastered the intricate forms of the symphony, opera, and chamber music.



In surveying the field of contemporary Soviet music, one is struck by the large number of older composers who have adapted themselves, without too much difficulty, to the cultural demands of their new society. The music of this older generation of composers is distinctly revolutionary; for the subject matter, be it in symphony or in opera, is the outgrowth of contemporary events or of revolutionary history.

The older musicians are more numerous than the younger, and superior in spirit, experience, and technique of writing. Many of them are well known abroad. The most noteworthy among the older composers are Krein, Gnessin, Polovinkin, and Knipper. Alexander Krein (b. 1883) is a musician of indubitable genius, composer of the famous *Ode of Mourning to Lenin*, and a profound student of ancient Jewish musical culture. He has recently completed a colorful and energetic symphony based on genuine Hebrew melodies. An experienced scholar and versatile composer, Krein has embodied in his music indigenous Oriental and Hebrew tunes and rhythms. His indefatigable efforts in this direction have helped to resuscitate an ancient and neglected musical culture. Another composer of similar distinction is Michael Gnessin (b. 1883), who has recently completed a symphony in honor of the heroes of the Revolution. Leonid Polovinkin (b. 1896) has composed four symphonies which, though conceived for an unusually large orchestra, are so transparent in style and so integrated in workmanship and technique that one can easily define them as amplified chamber works.

One of the most talented of this so-called middle-aged group is Leo Knipper (b. 1897). He has written several symphonies, of which the best known in America is his *Legend of a Plaster God* (or, in its original German title, *Märchen eines Gyps-Gottes*). From the very beginning of his career he revealed, as Victor Belaiev informs us, "a natural gift for interesting instrumentation. Besides the *Legend of a Plaster God*, he has composed for orchestra a one-act ballet called *Satanella* and *Two Revolutionary Episodes*. . . . A satirical disposition is common to him.

His satire is biting and impulsive. He displays romantic tendencies, although short-sighted critics consider him as yet a more intellectual than emotional composer." Knipper has also composed many songs and piano pieces and some isolated works for chamber ensemble or small orchestra with and without voice. One of his most impressive works is the Third Symphony, which is dedicated to the Far Eastern Army. He has solved in this work a difficult technical problem. The Red Army usually sings its popular tunes as a large independent chorus, achieving a splendid musical effect. Knipper has woven these popular tunes into the thematic structure of his symphony, achieving the same choral effect with the instruments of the orchestra.

Of the younger group, two noteworthy members are Schecter and Bielyi. Boris Schecter (b. 1900) has achieved deserved recognition as the composer of the magnificent *Symphonic Suite on Turkoman Melodies*. This is an immense work, both in form and scope, and is extremely vigorous in treatment. Victor Bielyi (b. 1901), the composer of the famous *Hunger March*, has been hailed as one of the most representative composers of true proletarian art. If Bielyi had written nothing else, this single work would have succeeded in placing him in the forefront of significant Soviet composers. The *Hunger March*, written for chorus and orchestra, is a fragment of a huge symphonic cycle depicting the suffering and tragedy of the unemployed in Europe and America.

Many of these composers are affiliated with the group known as the Moscow School. Geographical location is not, of course, the most important factor in a Soviet composer's style of writing: the ideological and philosophical tasks loom much larger, and they are general and similar for all schools. Yet, it is impossible not to perceive the peculiarities, the diverse styles and tendencies, of the composers in the two cities, Moscow and Leningrad. The significant Moscow composers are on the whole emotional and introspective. Much of their creative effort has been devoted to chamber music, which will be discussed later.

The Leningrad group, on the other hand—at least the younger element in it—has been characterized as a school of evolutionary dynamism, that is, the representation of dynamic action. This school has been strongly influenced by the musical achievements of the European composers, exemplified best by the musical style of Glazounov, the teacher of many Leningrad composers, who naturally reflect the musical characteristics of their master.

Shostakovitch offers a good example of the style known as evolutionary dynamism, as does also Leonid Entelis. Entelis has attracted wide attention by his "symphonic song-cycle," *War*, which continues the tradition of Musorgsky. Since Entelis is a composer of the present day, he employs a complex harmonic style; but he leaves the melodic line intact, free from all dissonant elaboration. His work thus has a folk quality like that which emanates from the scores of Musorgsky. The older traditions—a fusion of the classic with the romantic (Beethoven, Bach, Brahms, Tchaikovsky, Wagner), exemplified by Glazounov—have been especially stressed in the work of Maximilian Steinberg who, at the present time, is the leading professor of composition at the Leningrad Conservatory. Steinberg's orchestral style is a good example of the thorough integration of classical and romantic tendencies as taught by Glazounov, although it is marked by a quality of suave impressionism borrowed from Debussy and Ravel. Among Steinberg's pupils have been Shostakovitch, Shaporin—composer of the opera, *The Decembrists*—and Gabriel Popov, who are the most eminent of the younger generation of composers. Shaporin writes more in the tradition of Borodin and Musorgsky, although his music is marked by a style distinctly his own; Popov leans towards the mannerisms of piercing, astringent tonality traceable to the music of Schoenberg and Alban Berg.

Returning to the significant Moscow composers, we find (allowing, of course, for the many personal differences in style and inventiveness) that they have devoted themselves mainly to the further development of chamber-music: sonatas, quartets, and other works for instrumental ensemble. Here are to be found names of singular importance: Shebalin; Anatole Alexandrov, who borrowed many of his harmonic ideas from Scriabin; Nicholas Medtner, the author of numerous piano sonatas reflecting the styles of Rachmaninov, Liszt, and Tchaikovsky; and Samuel Feinberg, a brilliant pianist and scholar, who has composed over a dozen piano sonatas based on the ecstatic style of his great forerunner Scriabin. We have already spoken of Alexander Krein, who has written a monumental piano sonata, worthy to rank close to the finest in this form, and many beautiful songs based on Oriental melodies; and we have mentioned Michael Gnessin, who concentrates chiefly on the writing of piano works.

We must also take note of a man of unquestionable musical genius, namely, Nicholas Roslavetz, known as the "Russian Schoenberg." So far

as the writer knows, Roslavetz is the only exponent of the atonal system of harmony in the Soviet Union, a system, incidentally, which he developed independently of Schoenberg, and in which he employs new combinations of tones found neither in orthodox harmony nor in Schoenberg's famous system of the twelve-tone scale.

Finally, we have Alexander Mossolov (b. 1900), a dynamic composer who wrote the powerful *Soviet Iron Foundry* (original title: *Eisen-giesserei*). This work has created much comment, and it is worth while to quote from the program notes for the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra's performance on November 6, 1930:

It is perhaps unnecessary to state that the subtitle of the work, *Music for Machines*, does not mean music to be played by machines, as in the *Ballet Mécanique* of George Antheil, for example, where he used player-pianos and airplane propellers, which produced such a draft that certain members of the audience had to put up umbrellas for protection. There are no such bizarre contrivances in Mossolov's work. While the orchestral players may at times be asked to make noises intended to reproduce the sound of whirling dynamos, buzzing saws, rivet guns and the like, there is nothing to indicate that their actions should be mechanically controlled. The only directions in any way unusual contained in the score are found in the horn parts. Two very prominent solo passages are recorded for these instruments, and each time they occur the horn players are requested to stand up. There is likewise only one instrument employed which is not ordinarily found in the orchestra. This instrument . . . is a steel plate made to vibrate by shaking at regular intervals.

The essential difference between the two compositions under discussion is the difference between two men who feel the *dynamics of mechanics* in diverse ways. Whereas Antheil scores his ballet for machines, requiring the actual use of mechanical factors, Mossolov suggests the feeling, the atmosphere of a foundry. Antheil, peculiarly enough, strives for actual brutal realism; Mossolov achieves poetry and imagination. Besides extensive chamber-music and orchestral works, Mossolov has also written an opera, *The Hero*; some songs, a few of which are based on jocose texts after the manner of Satie; five sonatas and many tone-pictures for pianoforte; and *Nights in Turkestan*, a sonata for the unusual combination of a voice—singing without words—and piano.

In recapitulation, one may say that—if the Leningrad School represents the qualities of *evolutionary dynamism*—Moscow composers, on the whole, are more introspective, subjective, and emotional. In Lenin-

grad, music symbolizes dynamic action; in Moscow, it is suffused with feeling and emotion.



During the formative years after the Revolution, one of the most difficult tasks that faced the Soviet composer was the creation of mass operatic spectacles that would reflect the revolutionary events in the genesis of the new society. Incidentally, a similar situation confronted the composers after the French Revolution. The Soviet composers have been solving this problem successfully with a type of opera distinctive in musical style and conception, and in scope of delineation, wider, more complex, and of greater sociological significance than the earlier French opera. During the years of development in the U.S.S.R. the composition of this type of opera was carried on under the category of "The Picturization of Soviet Events."

Russian opera has been one of the strongest and most influential recent art forms in the realm of music. We need but cite such outstanding composers as Glinka, Borodin, Rimsky-Korsakov, and—perhaps the greatest of all—Musorgsky. Naturally, such a powerful heritage had a cogent influence upon the work of the growing Soviet composers. But the vivid and puissant themes of social revolution and cultural reconstruction could not, without some difficulty, be embodied in the older forms of dramatic presentation. Therefore, some new form had to be invented.

In his search for a revolutionary subject to develop by means of ancient Oriental melodies, Alexander Krein, for example, stumbled upon the theme of *Zagmur*, which is the history of the revolt of the Babylonian slaves against their masters. This opera is thus concerned with a social upheaval analyzed in the light of dialectical materialism. Another example of this application of social philosophy to music is Serge Vassilenko's opera *Son of the Sun*, which deals with episodes of the Boxer Rebellion in 1901. This is an effective piece of musical staging in which Vassilenko utilizes native Chinese tunes. The tendency of Krein and Vassilenko has been to use as operatic themes revolutionary events of history, which bear some relationship to events of the present day. Other composers who have followed a similar trend are Andrew Paschenko in his *Revolt of the Eagles* (Pugachev's Rebellion at the end

of the XVIIIth Century); Serge Triodin in his *Stepan Rasin* (the Cossack Rebellion in the XVIth Century); and Andrey Zolotarev in his *Decembrists* (dealing with the Rebellion of the gentry and officers in 1825).

All these composers, however, found it difficult to overcome the inertia of the large Russian traditional folk operas, and manifested tendencies—in accordance with the degree of their individual talents—reflecting at various times the opulent style of Rimsky-Korsakov or that of Tchaikovsky. Moreover, it was at first with diffidence that the composers approached the heroic exploits of the Civil War.

The late Alexander Davidenko, for one, tried to overcome this difficulty; and in his opera, *Down the Slope*, he gave us a clear picture of the way in which the organized proletariat and peasantry overcame struggles of the Civil War. Serge Pototzky in his opera, *The Break (Proryv)*, has successfully portrayed an episode of the Revolution showing the retreat of the White generals' cavalry before the Soviet Army.

All this was easy compared with the difficulty encountered by those composers who tried to interpret musically the dramas of outstanding Soviet writers, such as, *The North Wind* (the story of the execution of the twenty-six Baku Commissars) by Knipper and *Ice and Steel* by the talented Alexander Deshevov. As examples of musical translation, however, both these operas suffer from too fragmentary delineation; and the scenic action does not have sufficient musical content.

In the ballet, new ideas penetrated at first rather slowly. One of the reasons for this lack of progress may be that the entire technique of the ballet theatre was too closely bound up with the methods and traditions of the past. Even such a modern ballet as *Red Poppy* by Glière, revolutionary as it at first appeared to be and still prominent in the repertoire of the Russian dancers, may be considered a compromise between the traditional choreographic spectacle and the new revolutionary theme. Some of the latest and best contributions to the ballet have been by Prokofiev, in his *Le Pas d'Acier*, by Shostakovitch, in his *Age of Gold* and *Age of Steel*, and by Boris Asafiev, in his *Flames of Paris*. In keeping with his subject matter and with the contemporary dynamics of reconstruction, Asafiev made large and important use of songs and dances of the French Revolution.

This review would be incomplete without mentioning the valuable work of the late Ippolitov-Ivanov, who, by completing the opera, *The*



*Marriage*, by Musorgsky, based on the story by Gogol, has given us a vivid commentary on life in the 1830's. The result of this meritorious effort is one of the best comic operas in the Russian language.

In recapitulation, the salient factor in the musical life of the U.S.S.R. is the amazing expansion of Soviet musical art in so short a time. The Soviet composer is a representative of his time, first and foremost; an artistic mirror of his society seeking to break down the social conventions, the æsthetic insularity, and inhibitions of the past; and the builder of a new foundation for social and cultural values. The Soviet composer has ceased to be a slave to local or purely nationalistic inspiration. He is inspired by the task of reflecting the cultural rehabilitation of his world. These problems demand a vast mobilization of all æsthetic and social forces, requiring not only inspiration and lofty aims, but also a flexible and highly conscientious mastery of musical technique. There is no place for the musical amateur in spite of the fact that he may be a profound dialectician. He must first know his craft, and know it well, and then seek to interpret life about him. "Proletarian culture," said Lenin, "does not spring from nowhere: it is not the invention of a few self-styled experts. Proletarian culture should emerge in the process of logical evolution from the knowledge acquired during the oppression by capitalist society and landlords."

## JOHN FREDERICK PETER

By ALBERT G. RAU

THE story of music in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, dates back two centuries. On Christmas Eve, 1741, Count Nicolas von Zinzendorf christened the town, with music, when a little group of men and women sang, to the ancient chorale of Adam Drese:

*Nicht Jerusalem,  
Sondern Bethlehem—  
Aus dir kommet,  
Was mir frommet.*

From that moment, throughout the centuries, the voice of song and the sound of strings and wind instruments have been the inspiration of the daily life of the town. Of the original group at least three were trained musicians, and one of them, John Christopher Pyrlaeus, a competent performer on the violin and organ, had acquired his skill by a long course of training, of which he writes in his autobiography, "I learned music with much trouble and through many floggings." A precious memory of that Christmas Eve is an interleaved book of liturgies, on the blank pages of which John Christopher Schmidt, a blacksmith, copied incidental music over a figured bass. A proper understanding of this unique situation requires just a bit of previous history.

When the persecuted and dispersed members of the ancient *Unitas Fratrum*, during the early decades of the XVIIIth century, left Bohemia and Moravia, to find refuge on the estates of Zinzendorf, at Berthelsdorf in Saxony, they fell at once into the pietistic spirit that was dominating a portion of the Lutheran State Church. Not without the pangs of religious difference, these and others were finally welded into a new social group established at Herrnhut in Saxony, on the Zinzendorf estates. Almost at once they became known as "Herrnhüter," or "Moravians," a nickname that has stuck to them ever since. After 1727, they devoted themselves to mission work among the heathen and began their long fight against ignorance and barbarism by sending devoted men to Greenland, to India, and to the slaves in the West Indies.

Zinzendorf, their adopted leader, was outlawed by his own communion and removed his center of operations to London where, in the more congenial atmosphere of the German-English Court of George II, he could take advantage of the inertia created by the growing colonial operations of Great Britain. Here he made the acquaintance of James Oglethorpe and arranged that some of his workers should be allowed to settle in Savannah, to begin mission work among the slaves and red Indians of Georgia. After some years, in 1739, the attempt was found unsatisfactory, and plans were made to move to Pennsylvania and carry on similar efforts among William Penn's German immigrants as well as among the Indians.

Hence, when the little group of less than twenty sang Adam Drese's chorale on Christmas Eve, in 1741, they knew exactly what lay before them and had planned their personnel definitely in terms of their aims. Of the men then present, and of the many who followed within the next decades, several were former professors at Jena and Leipzig, and many were university graduates. In order to advance their aims as rapidly as possible, and with no conception whatever of faith in communism as a principle, they divided themselves into so-called "choir groups," so that directional management should be at a maximum and expense of construction at a minimum, since the entire scheme was financed by Count Zinzendorf.

Almost the sole recreation of these choir groups was music, and for its furtherance due preparation was made. There were spinets and clavecins in the choir houses, and two interesting "positif" organs were used for congregational singing. Some of the Sisters played the guitar, and in the Brethren's House violins and trumpets, horns, flutes, and oboes made possible, as early as 1748, an orchestra that performed from manuscript the simpler works of contemporary European composers. Those instruments were used also to strengthen the feeble tones of the "positif" in the services; and the trumpets and horns were regularly employed for public announcements of deaths and festivals from the belfry of the Brethren's House. At the opening of the harvest the Brethren paraded to the field with violins and horns. Presumably the tools of art were exchanged for the tools of agriculture at the beginning of the first swathe. But such a homely attitude was characteristic of the entire settlement. The shoemaker played the clarinet, the brewer the bassoon; the Bishop was expert on the violin, and the farm overseer had mastered the 'cello. Through the entire group, probably from a third

to a half of the community of four hundred had an active part in a musical life that was intimately intertwined with every social activity. In 1754, to all of this was added a double quartet of slide trombones, ranging from the little soprano in B-flat to the great bass in low F. Their use now supplanted that previously made of open trumpets and horns, which, at best, must have been troublesome in the performance of conjunct passages. As nearly as we can make out from the scraps of information that have come to us, the trumpets played in the higher registers where the scale was possible, and the horns eked out their bass and middle parts with stopped tones. What was needed after 1754, was the directing and co-ordinating influence of a leader.

This leader came in the person of John Frederick Peter, who became secretary to the Brethren's House and director of music for the community in 1770 and held the latter position, with one short interval devoted to similar activity in other Moravian groups, for forty-three years. Peter was born May 19, 1746, at Herrendyk in Holland, and was a son of the Moravian pastor there. His early education in music is unrecorded, and there is no evidence that his parents had any ability in or understanding of the art. His mother died in 1760, and his father went to America to become a pastor at Bethlehem, while the boy was sent to the church schools at Gross Hennersdorf, Barby, and Niesky. In the institution at the last-named place, he was trained to become a missionary. But he seems to have devoted much of his time to music, and became a competent performer on the violin, the clavier, and the organ. Through the efforts of some teacher or series of teachers, he acquired a knowledge of harmony and counterpoint, as well as an acquaintance with the then developing sonata form. He took part in the performance of chamber-music and symphonies in company with his fellow students. The one fact about his musical training of which we are certain, is that he spent hours making copies of the works of contemporary composers. For, when he came to Bethlehem, he brought with him a large quantity of manuscripts of this character, copied in his painstaking script. All of these copies are dated between 1765 and 1770, the precise period during which, as a pupil and teacher, he had been at the Niesky Theological Seminary. These faded and crumbling pages tell the tale of his long and hard training. Perhaps, even, it was self-training; for in his biography no mention is made of his musical apprenticeship. In this pile of manuscripts, there are twelve of the early

works of Haydn, some for strings and some for an orchestra of two horns, two oboes, and strings; five works by J. W. A. Stamitz; three by J. C. Bach; four by J. C. F. Bach; six by Boccherini; five by Abel; two by Zanetti; and a dozen more scattered among names not found in any encyclopædia. All of this music, as also the score and parts of "Der Tod Jesu" of K. H. Graun, he brought with him in July, 1770, when he came to Bethlehem to be "actuariarius and protocolist" of the Brethren's House and to take in hand the music of the little community.

The Collegium Musicum of the settlement, begun in 1748 by John Erik Westerman and Immanuel Nitschman, at once came under his care. He added several players to its number, made the group a part of the regular music in the service of the church, and added a chorus of men and women for a performance of Graun's "Tod Jesu," which occurred during Passion Week in the early part of the first decade after his arrival. Weekly rehearsals were held, and at intervals during the year concerts of secular music were given. What may have been the returns from the early years we do not know. But in 1794, the total receipts for the year were about ten Pennsylvania pounds, equivalent to \$25.00, all of which were carefully expended for music-paper and copying. In 1790, a set of tympani was imported from Nuremberg, and, in 1792, another contrabass and a new bassoon. In 1794, Peter copied the parts of Mozart's E-flat Symphony, and it was produced in 1795 at the Whit Monday concert.

But there had been a period in his life that seems to have been significant for his development. Between 1786 and 1793 he was transferred in succession to Lititz, Pennsylvania; Graceham, Maryland; and Salem, North Carolina, to revive and stimulate music in those centers of Moravian activity. In Salem he found a wife in the person of the leading soprano in the choir of its congregation. Now the interesting fact about this wife seems to be that it was she who, when he was past forty, inspired him to attempt the composition of suitable music for the services of the church year. Of the more than forty anthems composed by Peter and so far discovered in the dusty attics at Bethlehem, not one has been found that antedates his marriage in 1784. It may be assumed, therefore, that, in some measure at least, Catherine Leinbach was responsible for directing his talent into a new channel. When the accumulations at Graceham, Lititz, and Salem are carefully searched, new works will doubtless be discovered. At present his list of works com-

prises forty-one titles. Some of the pieces are very short, not more than forty-eight measures, and the longest is not more than 156 measures in length.

His melodic style is based upon his experience with Haydn and Stamitz. But, as he matures, his harmonic scheme achieves a freedom that is quite astonishing, by reason of his very free use of chromatic alterations. Living as he did far from the domain in which Albrechtsberger and Fux influenced the harmonic usage, he seems to have worked out modulations and successions that smack more of the middle of the XIXth than of the end of the XVIIIth century. Very often it is quite apparent that his lifetime habit of extempore playing had made him an experimenter in the domain of chord progressions. In the development of his themes, or in the use of his secondary themes, is found his greatest weakness. He says what he has to say, sometimes repeats it in the dominant or sub-dominant key, and then restates it in the tonic as a coda; and that is all. His choruses are all written with orchestral accompaniment, always requiring the strings, of course, with at times flutes, bassoons, French horns, and trumpets added to them. In one of his anthems he uses two oboes, and in two of the last ones he adds two clarinets. In his earlier works his instruments, in large part, support the voices. But in his later works he has given the players independent parts that form an attractive background to the voices. As to the latter, his methods were not always the same. Many of his early choruses are scored for two sopranos, an alto, and a bass. Is it not likely that, like many choir leaders, he was often without satisfactory tenors? The fact that he often rewrote a former work in terms of the usual grouping seems to justify the assumption that when he had tenors he wrote for them. At times he indulges in a little free counterpoint in the parts. But a fugal passage does not often exceed the space needed for the four entrances and their complete statements, and his answers would not always have rejoiced the heart of Johann Sebastian Bach. In everything he does, he is simple and straightforward, always devotional, and he never strains for effect. What he tries to do is to give a Scripture text an emotional background that will illuminate its meaning, and thus become a means for the spiritual elevation of his hearers.

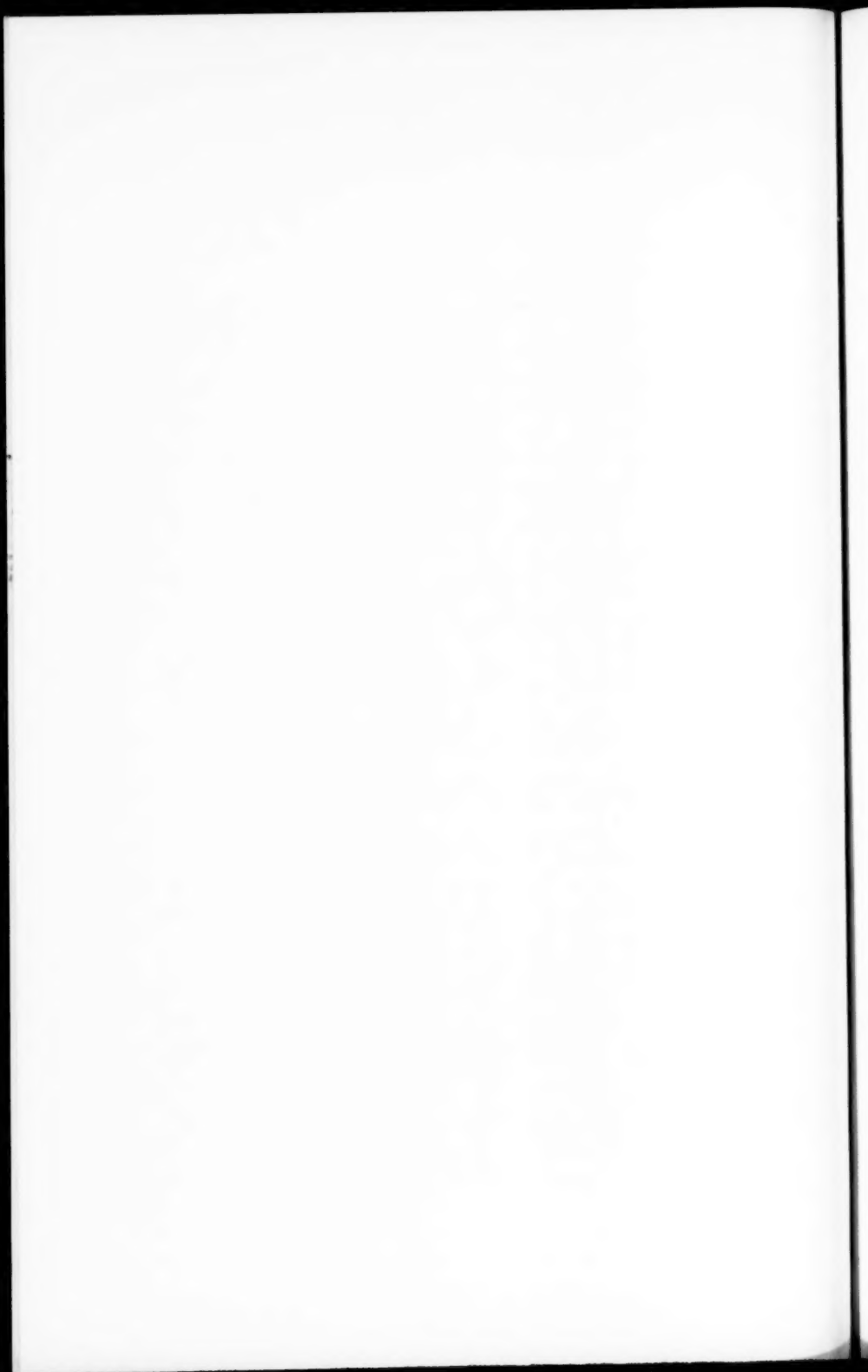
Most of the anthems were composed after his return to Bethlehem in 1793. But his earliest known work was not intended for the use of the church. This was a set of six quintets for two violins, two violas, and 'cello, dated January 9, 1789, which were evidently, therefore, put



*Quintetto  
In G major con Cello.*



Facsimile of the Autograph of Page One of  
John Frederick Peter's Set of Six String Quintets,  
dated January 9, 1789



on paper while he was living in Salem. These quintets are interesting to the musicologist not only by reason of their content, but because they are, in all likelihood, the earliest examples of concerted music for strings, in the formal sonata-form, to have been composed in America. All the quintets but one are in three movements: an Allegro, an Andante or Adagio, and a Presto. The third one, however, has no slow movement, and substitutes for it a Polonaise and a Minuet; the fifth has, in place of a finale, a sequence of major and minor minuets. He treats his five instruments as independent parts throughout, but seems in general to have been careful to avoid too many difficult passages for the second viola and the 'cello. When he indulges in canon or imitation he seldom gives these two lower instruments a due share of the work. Probably he knew his players! In fact, since he copied parts for all but the second viola, it is to be suspected that he played that part himself from the score. On the other hand, he never degenerates into mere "beer bass." His 'cello part, if easier than the others, is melodious and varied, sometimes even ingenious in its evident attempt to interest the player and to enrich the effect.

Very often his themes, particularly in his slow movements, appear as duets between two of the voices, as contrasted with two others. One Adagio, of only 36 measures, is throughout a canon in the octave, in five voices, on a simple two-measure theme that appears over and over again, each time with some variation of progression that serves to heighten the interest. The final movements are neither rondos nor variations. Rather, as in the works of later composers, they are built on the type of the first movements, except that Peter ventures to introduce new themes as connecting material between the restatements of his main theme. On several occasions he ventures upon a development, at times, even, one that involves playing one theme off against another either in part or in its entirety. His first violin part goes out of the second position only once in the entire score of 36 pages. But in the positions he uses he demands of his three upper voices a technique that is little short of amazing when we consider the time, the place, and the players that he had at his command. His themes are not astonishingly original, except in a very few instances; but he spends no time "rattling dishes" in his transitions, and the listener will agree that Peter is saying just what he means, even though both language and thought are simple and, perhaps, at times, bromidic. The experiments in harmony that appear later in his more mature work are not discernible in the quintets, though

he is, in them, constantly turning chromatic passing-notes into harmonic leading-tones, and thus reaching out towards a field of broader possibilities in harmony.

His musical growth becomes more interesting when it is followed through the long series of anthems for the days of the church year. Here, under the inspiration of the text, he begins to try his hand at greater variety in expression. In 1799, he composed an anthem to the words "Unto us a Child is born," that was evidently influenced by Handel. The theme is set forth in alternate duets allotted to the voices. Immediately afterwards, however, there appears a use by the voices of portions of the theme in a curious ejaculatory fashion, while the two violins carry on an elaborate duet in triplets on an entirely new theme that enables them to outshine the voices. In a short fugal passage, the voices lead up to an evident imitation of Handel on the words, "Wonderful Counsellor." Then the theme appears in the dominant for just a few measures, and the duet of the strings dies away *pianissimo* to allow the chorus to end, supported by the horns and flutes only—"and peace on earth."

Another interesting sample of his cleverness is found in the chorus, "Die mit Thränen säen." It is in A minor, and the theme is a chromatic scale from A to E, while the bass descends, also chromatically, from C to E. Whenever the singers rest on a long chord on the word *Freuden*, or *Gaben*, the first violin, far up in its register, decorates the chords with a passage in triplets that makes one think of dawn over the hills.

An undated work is a soprano solo to the words, "O Anblick der mir's Herze bricht," in C minor, with an accompaniment of muted strings. It is severely simple in style and in lack of ornament. But, adopting a favorite trick, he suddenly passes from E-flat major to minor, and then returns to C minor by a winding path: first he modulates from C-flat, with a raised sixth added to the tonic triad, the sixth transforming the tonic into a German dominant augmented sixth in B-flat, into the tonic of which key the new chord is resolved; and then he alters the note B-flat to B-natural to obtain the leading-tone triad of C minor. Yet never for a moment does he break the thread of his musical thought, or give the impression of wandering uncertainly.

Sometime during 1802, Peter copied the score and the voice and orchestra parts of Bach's cantata "Ein' feste Burg." Apparently something in the duet in that cantata inspired him to compose a work for two voices, and the result was an anthem, "Lasset uns rechtschaffen

sein," for soprano and alto. The voice parts are not particularly interesting; but the strings, flutes, and bassoons carry on a lively exchange, answering each other in imitation, and this is continued finally throughout a sequence of modulations of the seventh that sound somewhat like modulations of Bach.

Besides his often repeated scheme of following major by minor, he frequently reiterates a passage by an abrupt step to the submediant. Sometimes he does this by substituting, for the tonic triad of his major key, a tonic four-two chord, with the seventh flattened and with the bass resolving it on to the root of the tonic of the major submediant key. He does this in his last work, a duet for tenor and bass, dated February 27, 1813. In this, having reached the submediant B major from D, he stays for sixteen measures in related keys, and then modulates back to his tonic by following the dominant seventh of B with the mediant seventh of D (that is, by merely altering the note A-sharp to A-natural), following this with the dominant seventh of D, and going thence to the tonic.

Peter was short, stout, red-faced, and bald, not at all "temperamental," and very friendly and kindly. Never much blessed with money, he could not keep it when he had it, and when, on July 19, 1813, he died suddenly, just as he had finished a rehearsal, he left behind him no estate, but only a large, indeed almost unbelievably large, mass of manuscript as the result of nearly fifty years of musical growth. Not the least of these relics is the condensed score of Haydn's "Creation," along with all orchestra and singing parts, at which he labored during 1809-1810. The work, under his direction, was sung, probably with some cuts, in 1811.

Besides his manuscript legacy he gave a greater gift to the present. Among his pupils were two, John C. Till and Peter Wolle, both of whom became leaders in Bethlehem music. They were the teachers of Theodore F. Wolle, who, after 1860, was the presiding genius over musical affairs in Bethlehem. He, finally, had as his pupil, J. Frederick Wolle. Therefore, in a very real sense John Frederick Peter was the musical great-grandfather of another John Frederick, who in turn was the father of the Bethlehem Bach Choir.

## BACH'S "MUSICAL OFFERING"

By HANS T. DAVID

**I**N MAY 1747, Johann Sebastian Bach, "*Cantor und Director musices* zu St. Thoma in Leipzig," met Frederick the Second, "*König in Preussen*"—a meeting between statesman and composer that is perhaps unique in the fruitful results to which it led.

The young monarch, who was later to be surnamed the Great, loved music, as we know. He played the flute (*Querflöte, flûte traversière*), which in the first half of the XVIIIth century had more and more been taking the place of the recorder (*Schnabelflöte, flûte à bec*). He also composed, preferably music for his favorite instrument with accompaniment. J. J. Quantz was his teacher, Philipp Emanuel Bach for several years his chamber-harpsichordist. Philipp Emanuel, a composer full of ideas and one of the most important of his time, who had developed a thoroughly personal and forward-looking style, owed both his talent and his musical upbringing to his father, Johann Sebastian. "Old" Bach—as this father of several well-known sons was already called—was certainly not one of the most "popular" composers of the period. But he was famous as an organist, and his mighty contrapuntal technique woke the admiration of connoisseurs. Naturally the king had often heard old Bach's art praised. He indicated to Philipp Emanuel with increasing urgency that he wished his father would sometime come to Potsdam. Finally Bach made up his mind to go, accompanied by Wilhelm Friedemann, his eldest son. Wilhelm Friedemann later gave to Johann Nikolaus Forkel the details of this last journey undertaken by Bach. To Forkel we owe the first detailed biography of the great master, and thanks to his account we are better informed concerning this episode in Bach's life than about any other.

"At this time," says Forkel, "the King had a private concert every evening, at which he usually played the flute in a couple of concertos. One evening, as he was getting out his instrument, and his musicians had already taken their places, an officer brought him the written report of strangers newly arrived. Flute in hand, he glanced over the paper, then promptly turned to his assembled musicians and said with a sort



of excitement: 'Gentlemen, old Bach is here!' The flute was now laid by, and old Bach, who had alighted at his son's lodgings, commanded to come at once to the palace. . . . In those days rather long-winded compliments were still the custom. The first appearance of Johann Sebastian Bach before so great a king, who had not even left him time to change his travelling-dress for his black cantor's robe, must therefore necessarily have been marked by many expressions of apology . . . which in Wilhelm Friedemann's mouth became a regular dialogue between the King and the apologist.

"But what was more important than all this," continues Forkel, "the King gave up his flute concert for this evening and pressed old Bach . . . to try out his Silbermann pianofortes which stood about in various rooms in the palace. [The King, a great enthusiast for these early *Hammerklaviere* of the famous Saxon instrument-maker, was said to have sought to buy them all up, and had gathered together some fifteen.] The orchestral musicians tagged along from room to room, and in each Bach had to try the instruments and improvise upon them. After he had been testing and improvising for a while, he asked the King to give him a fugue-subject which he then and there developed without any preparation whatever. The King marvelled at the skilful manner in which his theme was developed extempore, and now expressed—presumably in order to see how far such art could be carried—the wish to hear also a fugue in six voices. But as not every subject lends itself to such improvisation in many voices, Bach chose himself one for the purpose, and proceeded to carry it out, to the great admiration of all present, in just as fine and skilful a manner as he had previously that of the King . . ."

Bach, though, was not satisfied. He had declined to improvise a six-voice fugue on the King's theme, but he promised "to work out this right royal theme more perfectly, and then to make it known to the world." He must have promised above all to compose a six-voice fugue on the theme that had been laid before him. Immediately on his return to Leipzig he wrote a collection of pieces, all of which are built upon this theme of Frederick the Great's. And but two months after the Potsdam visit he was able to subscribe the date—July 7, 1747—to the foreword to this new work which he had engraved as a "Musical Offering most humbly dedicated to his Royal Majesty in Prussia by Johann Sebastian Bach." This foreword is a document not only of artistic but of human interest; therefore let us give it here in full:

Most gracious King,

In deepest humility I dedicate herewith to Your Majesty a Musical Offering, the noblest part of which derives from Your own august Hand. With an awesome pleasure I remember the very special royal Grace, when a while ago, during my visit in Potsdam, Your Majesty's Self deigned to play to me a fugue-subject upon the clavier, and most graciously charged me thereupon to carry it out in your Majesty's august Presence. Your Majesty's command was my most humble duty. But I soon noticed that, for lack of necessary preparation, the result was not as good as such an excellent subject demanded. Thereupon I resolved, and promptly pledged myself, to work out this right royal theme more perfectly and then make it known to the world. This undertaking has now been carried out as well as possible, and it has none other than this irreproachable intent, to glorify, if only in a small point, the Fame of a Monarch, whose Greatness and Power, as in all the Sciences of War and Peace, so also especially in Music, all men must admire and honor. I make bold to add this most humble request: may Your Majesty deign to dignify the accompanying modest work with a gracious acceptance, and continue to grant Your Majesty's most august Royal Grace to

Your Majesty's

most humble and obedient servant

The Author." <sup>1</sup>

This dedication is cast in the old-fashioned and somewhat obsequious style used at the time for such purposes. But it is clearly distinguished from that with which Bach had sent his Concerti for several instruments to the Margrave of Brandenburg more than twenty-five years previously. Bach does not, like most authors of his time, beg for

<sup>1</sup> "Allergnädigster König,

Ew. Majestät weyhe ich hiermit in tiefster Unterthänigkeit ein Musicalisches Opfer, dessen edelster Theil von Deroselben hoher Hand selbst herrührt. Mit einem ehrfurchtsvollen Vergnügen erinnere ich mich annoch der ganz besonderen Königlichen Gnade, da vor einiger Zeit, bey meiner Anwesenheit in Potsdam, Ew. Majestät selbst, ein Thema zu einer Fuge auf dem Clavier mir vorzuspielen geruhten, und allergnädigst auferlegten, solches alsobald in Deroselben höchster Gegenwart auszuführen. Ew. Majestät Befehl zu gehorsamen, war meine allerunterthänigste Schuldigkeit. Ich bemerkte aber gar bald, dass wegen Mangels nöthiger Vorbereitung, die Ausführung nicht also gerathen wollte, als es ein so treffliches Thema erforderte. Ich fasste demnach den Entschluss, und machte mich sogleich anheischig, dieses recht Königliche Thema vollkommener auszuarbeiten, und sodann der Welt bekannt zu machen. Dieser Vorsatz ist nunmehr nach Vermögen bewerkstelliget worden, und er hat keine andere als nur diese untadelige Absicht, den Ruhm eines Monarchen, ob gleich nur in einem kleinen Puncte, zu verherrlichen, dessen Grösse und Stärke, gleich wie in allen Kriegs- und Friedens-Wissenschaften, also auch besonders in der Musik, jedermann bewundern und verehren muss. Ich erühne mich dieses unterthänigste Bitten, hinzuzufügen: Ew. Majestät geruhen gegenwärtige wenige Arbeit mit einer gnädigen Aufnahme zu würdigen, und Deroselben allerhöchste Königliche Gnade noch fernerweit zu gönnen

Ew. Majestät

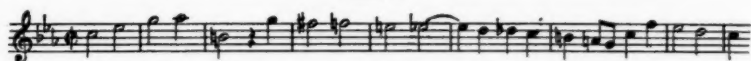
allerunterthänigst gehorsamsten Knechte  
dem Verfasser."

consideration. He indicates that the theme has been worked out as perfectly as possible. Through the stereotyped formulas of the time we feel the pride and the satisfaction of an artist who was a king in his own realm and was recognized as such. We may assume that the phrases of this dedication are entirely sincere. Bach's praise of the King's theme is not flattery but a purely artistic acknowledgement. That the improvisation had not been thoroughly successful must have been his well-founded impression. And that his visit to Potsdam belonged to the pleasantest of his recollections, is scarcely to be doubted. The hours spent with Frederick the Great were significant of one of the biggest productive experiences of Bach's life—the only one, indeed, about which we have reliable information.



The subject which the King gave Bach is in C minor. It moves in duple time ( $2/2$ ), for the most part in half-notes. It opens with an ascending triad, rises to the sixth, and falls a diminished seventh to the leading-tone, following a type quite common in music of the time. A chromatic passage descends in half-notes to the third, thence in quarters to the leading-tone again. A cadential formula constitutes the close:

Ex. 1



This theme is worthy of the praise Bach gave it. It has strength, breadth, dignity. No inauspicious repeated tones interfere with its flow. The opening is sufficiently definite to make the impression of a good fugue-subject. Both the beginning and the middle chromatic passage yield fruitful material for the development of short points of imitation. The theme has but a single weak spot in that the steadily descending chromatic tones occur in different rhythms (first there are ordinary halves, then a dotted half, then quarters). Bach felt this. He uses the theme for the most part in its original form. But in certain movements he uses variation and introduces the chromatic descent as a sequence of more tersely defined rhythm. As the third link of a sequence is generally free, in these variations the first part of the chromatic descent runs more naturally into the further broken rhythm which follows than it does in the original form of the theme.

## Ex. 2

Last movement of the Sonata  
Allegro



Bach uses this theme in pieces of very different types: fugues, canons, a sonata. Each of these groups has, as it were, its own little history.

The "Musical Offering" opens with a three-voice fugue. It is highly probable that this is the notation of the very piece Bach improvised at Potsdam. Philipp Spitta, the great Bach biographer, surmises that Bach must have had his improvisation in mind, since it pleased the King so well, and that he would have been likely to retain in the written version more of his extempore inspirations than he might in other circumstances have thought desirable. Bach says in the dedication that the improvisation had not succeeded as well as he would have wished. This three-voice fugue shows wherein the imperfections of the improvisation may have consisted and indicates that Bach's words were no mere expression of modesty. For it lacks that balance of parts which Bach knew how to give to his well-worked-out compositions. We can even see how this curious fact came to be. Bach began his improvisation according to the old rule with a complete exposition; the subject occurs once in each of the three voices, as *dux* in the tonic, as *comes* in the dominant, and again as *dux* in the tonic. Now comes a little interlude using the chromatic figure. The second section of the whole opens—a first unusual feature—with a working-out of the first two measures of the theme. This leads into the second exposition, which again brings three statements, but in modulating series (dominant, tonic, subdominant, all *dux*). Upon these follows, always according to rule, a second interlude. We now find ourselves, following Bach's usual practice, in the middle of the movement. Had he been planning to extend the normal form, he would now have to proceed with new material. But instead of doing

this, he brings back the beginning of the second section in another key, so that the hearer must feel that he has reached the realm of recapitulation, the second half of the movement. At the end of the first statement of the subject in this section, however, Bach is carried away by a new musical idea. The theme contains the chromatic figure in halves and quarters—that is, including a first diminution. Bach now uses a further diminution, introducing the chromatic figure in quarters and eighths. With this material he builds a little self-contained fugue full of inspiration and expressiveness. But an improvisatory bit of this sort could occur only in the middle section without upsetting the form of the whole; whereas this piece actually enters considerably after the indicated center and imposes itself as an intermezzo on the recapitulation. Hence arose a lack of proportion which could no longer be corrected; and it must be this that constitutes the imperfection in the improvised fugue to which Bach alludes.

Bach had promised to work out a six-voice fugue. The resulting piece shows what he thought such a fugue should look like. He carries over ideas and details from the improvised fugue. In both pieces he uses the theme in the same form; also its opening and middle sections, in diminution as well as in their original forms. In both pieces he starts the middle section, not with an exposition, but with a kind of development. But he purposely leaves out the unorganic middle section. No piece of Bach's has mathematically stricter proportions. The first interlude ends with a broad cadence in the tonic parallel after exactly two-fifths of the piece. The recapitulation of this interlude closes with a corresponding cadence in the subdominant parallel after four-fifths of the piece—the correspondence being assured through the motivic material as well as the major harmony. The middle of the movement is emphasized by a cadence on the dominant, with a single brief point of imitation which recurs in the same form only at the end of the whole piece. The end of the third fifth of the movement is marked by a cadence on the subdominant: note that the modulations throughout the piece proceed from C over E-flat to G, and then from F over A-flat to C. After the cadence on the subdominant the number and strength of the voices are reduced, so that the next entry of the theme appears as a new beginning, a special kind of recapitulation. This new entry falls at approximately two-thirds of the course of the whole; by the use of various means it gives the impression of being the beginning of the final part. Thus the movement realizes three sorts of proportion: it empha-

sizes the halves, the beginning of the last third, the beginning of the third, fourth, and last fifths. Bach certainly did not deliberately design so strict a form. But after the improvised fugue he unquestionably felt a strong compulsion towards realizing the most perfect possible balance of parts in the structure he had here undertaken to create.

Its formal perfection is only one of its many aspects. Bach never wrote any other six-voice fugue, save in concertos and in music requiring the participation of singers. The concentration of mind necessary to the accomplishment of such a piece is everywhere apparent. Nowhere among Bach's works do we find a finer manipulation of contrapuntal detail, nowhere in his instrumental music more careful harmonic procedure or equal beauty of sound. Bach might well say with satisfaction at the conclusion of such a movement that his "undertaking had now been carried out as well as possible."



Since the ruler to whom the "Musical Offering" is dedicated played the flute, it was natural that Bach should have this instrument in mind for this music. The theme, long as it was and written in long note-values, was not suitable for use in a concerto for flute with orchestra, so Bach wrote a sonata with a flute part; and since the theme was only effective if it stood out majestically against other active voices, he wrote a sonata, not for flute alone with figured bass (*Generalbass*) or harpsichord obbligato, but a "Trio," a sonata for flute, violin, and figured bass. He considered his benefactor's taste not only in the choice of instruments but also in the matter of style. The King was more than twenty-five years Bach's junior. And seldom in the history of music did a wider gap exist between two generations than at this time. Bach and Handel belong to the last generation of that period which in its pathos, its endeavor to grasp human passions in music, corresponds to the Baroque in poetry and sculpture. Bach's sons, turning away from the polyphonic, contrapuntal art of this older period, were the forerunners of classicism, the development leading from Philipp Emanuel to Haydn. We know how much Beethoven thought of Philipp Emanuel, while Mozart's music is inconceivable without that of Bach's youngest son, Johann Christian. Frederick the Great liked this newer, lighter style. The senior Bach, who had consciously amalgamated the music of his time with that of his predecessors, was the teacher of his sons but had the greatness not



to make them mere followers of himself. Sometimes he took them to Dresden to the opera, to hear what he jokingly called "the new songlets [*die neuen Liederchen*]." In his own music there are scattered traits—melodic, harmonic, rhythmic—which certainly point far ahead of his time and which could show his sons their way. The organ sonatas he wrote for Wilhelm Friedemann are excellent examples of this "modern" music of its time. Thus Bach chose for the sonata in the "Musical Offering" also a style which points beyond his own into the future. The work has, according to old custom, four movements. The first and third, the slow movements, use the theme only in fragmentary forms; the second, in a free double fugue, the last, in a simple fugue. The details are of that fineness and intensity of contrapuntal elaboration characteristic of Bach's later style, while the melodic and rhythmic procedure repeatedly includes elements of the then new music. The slow third movement depends entirely on one dynamic effect, the alternation of *forte* motives with brief *piano* echoes, and makes repeated use of the form of suspension that came to be known as the "*Mannheimer Seufzer*" (the "sigh" of the Mannheim School):

Ex. 3



Even in the first movement we meet with similar early-classic forms of suspension. To what further extent Bach accommodates himself in the fast movements to the style of the younger generation—to which his own sons and Frederick the Great, too, belong—may be seen in the two examples following. In the middle section of the second movement we find this figure—derived from the other main theme characteristic of the movement—which, when thus extracted, surely seems more readily attributable to one of his sons than to the old master of fugue:

Ex. 4



And the second section of the last movement begins with a figure which may still be encountered in Mendelssohn and Wagner:

Ex. 5



Thus the Sonata in the "Musical Offering" is in a threefold sense dedicated to the author of the theme: in its thematic material, its instrumental setting, and the style at which it aims.



Frederick the Great may be termed a connoisseur, in the meaning of his own day, so that Bach could risk offering him music of highly contrapuntal art. On the other hand, the King was but an amateur, a statesman to whom art was a pastime, a lively game. He liked French literature but paid no attention to the great development in German literature that took place during his lifetime. His musical capacities were also limited. Someone once praised his playing to Philipp Emanuel and mentioned particularly how much rhythm (*wie viel Takt*) he had; but this was just his weak point, so Philipp Emanuel answered simply: "Yes, many rhythms (*Ja, vielerlei*).” Years after the meeting in Potsdam, the King was once describing Bach’s playing and said that he had improvised fugues of five, six, and eight voices. But it is impossible to play fugues of more than six voices with two hands! The lapse in the King’s memory shows that in reality he can scarcely have grasped Bach’s art. Evidently Bach’s technical mastery impressed him all the more deeply; his virtuosity must have seemed to him nothing short of some kind of magic. This in turn would have stimulated Bach the more in working out for the King some examples of the strictest polyphonic type. So he included, in all, ten canons in the "Musical Offering." Five of them use the comparatively broad theme as *cantus firmus*, surrounding it with two voices that proceed canonically. The remaining canons use the theme itself canonically. We find canons in unison and at various distances; canons in contrary motion as well as in contrary motion and augmentation; a canon in which the second section is an inversion of the first and so appears as its mirror; a crab canon the line of which is to be read simultaneously forwards and backwards; a canon that

moves a tone higher with each repetition; and, finally, a canonic fugue. Two of the canons bear superscriptions by Bach, the canon by contrary motion and augmentation being marked: "*Notulis crescentibus crescat Fortuna Regis*" ("As the notes grow, so may the King's prosperity"), while the following modulating canon carries the words: "*Ascendenteque modulatione ascendat Gloria Regis*" ("And as the modulation rises, so rise the King's fame"). Each of these canons is a characteristic piece. The art of writing canons is not a mere *tour de force* for Bach but a highest means of expression. He writes this music not to be read but to be played, and in two of the pieces indicates the instruments to be used. He shows here what he can do; but this very music makes clear that it is not the contrapuntal combination of the voices that is important to him, but the particular quality and intensity of feeling, of emotion, which is not to be achieved by simpler means.

Frederick's theme represents, in its quiet duple-time motion, a type already much cultivated, if in shorter examples, during the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. In the three-voice fugue it appears in two-beat measure, the old semibreve measure,  $2/2$ . In the six-voice fugue Bach chose a measure of double value, the "alla breve,"  $4/2$  (the breve corresponding to double our whole-note). Here the relation to earlier music is perfectly clear. Bach was familiar with this type of theme and movement, above all through the works of the great Italian organist and composer, Frescobaldi, a volume of which had long been in his possession. Frescobaldi calls his fugues with subjects of this type "Ricercari," and so Bach called the two fugues of the "Musical Offering" by the same name. *Ricercar* means to search, and the title means that one must search for the theme in the piece; so that it fits very well these pieces in which Bach used someone else's theme. But Bach goes further. The XVIIth-century *ricercari* were often pieces made up of several more or less independent sections in the same key and using the same theme, but various in their rhythm, their development, their character. The "Musical Offering" too is such a composition of many sections in which a single theme underlies the whole and a single tonality is retained, although here the sections are entirely separate and independent. Bach, in fact, called the whole work *Ricercar* when he headed the first page of music with a Latin superscription: *Regis Iussu Cantio Et Reliqua Canonica Arte Resoluta* ("By Command of the King the Song [meaning the theme] resolved [*i.e.*, worked out] by Canonic Art"), the initial letters of which form the word *ricercar*. Bach makes the word serve several meanings;

for, while it indicates that the theme is to be sought in the various pieces, it also implies the style of the fugues that bear this title and the form of the whole work as well.



Bach was the great master of counterpoint, but he was also in a more profound sense than any composer that preceded him the great master of form. The "Musical Offering" is a collection of thirteen pieces, independent in themselves, with a common theme and a common tonality. But Bach was not satisfied with these elements of connection. He laid out the whole work in strictly unified form. The two *ricercari* have so many traits in common that they impress one as belonging together. Bach places the one in three voices at the beginning, the one in six at the end, thus establishing a first feature of strictest symmetry. The sonata, the only piece of its kind in the work, occupies a central position. Between the first fugue and the sonata come the five canons that use the theme as *cantus firmus*.<sup>2</sup> Between the sonata and the last fugue come the five canons in which the theme itself is canonically developed. Thus the whole realizes a pure five-part symmetry, in the order A-B-C-B-A.

The arrangement of the canons follows a special series. In the center of the first group Bach proceeds systematically from the canon in unison to the canon in contrary motion, and from this to the canon in contrary motion and augmentation, thus uniting the pieces, as he moves by degrees of contrapuntal complexity, in a closely-knit whole. The first canon of the group (in the double octave), with its dotted eighths and sixteenths, gives the impression of an *Entrée*, an opening. The last, rising through modulation and returning to the tonic only after six repetitions (*canon per tonos*), acquires by its compass and its lively motion the character of a *Finale*. In the second group of canons the three middle pieces again are closely connected; a two-voice canon for two high voices being followed by another for two low voices, and this by a four-voice canon for two high and two low voices. Their relationship is emphasized in that these three middle pieces are written as puzzles with

<sup>2</sup> The order adopted in this article has not been advanced before. That order: first fugue, sonata, last fugue, is supported by the fact that the printer put his name at the end of the 6-voice *ricercar*. The order of the canons described above does not correspond exactly to that of the original edition; some arguments for it will be hinted at below and further explained in a more comprehensive essay on planned collections of music in preparation for the *Acta Musicologica*. The matter being very involved in itself, it seemed preferable not to burden the above description with the problems of the research concerning it.

no indication of the principle the unwritten voices are to follow. The first and the last piece in this second group are set down for two canonic upper voices and a figured bass: their correspondence is strengthened by the fact that each contains episodes and two expositions of the theme, while the bass opens in the same way in both. This second group, then, held together by the symmetrical relation between its outer members, may be represented by the scheme  $A_1-B_1-B_2-B_3-A_2$ .

The sonata reflects the form of the whole work in a remarkable manner. The first movement is long-drawn-out, the third and fourth being shorter, so that in performance the first takes as long as the other two together. The result is that the quick second movement appears as the center of the piece, which means that it is also the center of the whole work. This second movement is the only one in the whole work to combine with Frederick's theme a second theme of equal rank; hence it acquires that special weight in relation to the whole work which, owing to its central position, it ought to have. This movement, a long Allegro, is in five sections, like the whole in the midst of which it lies. The second section uses the same materials as the first in somewhat altered sequence and order of modulations; it is a contribution by old Bach to the problem of the "altered recapitulation" which particularly occupied his son Philipp Emanuel. The fourth section repeats the first, with a slight change at the beginning; the fifth exactly repeats the second. The form, then, may be represented by  $A_1'-A_2-B-A_1''-A_2$ . The middle part B, slightly longer than the other parts, is again symmetrical in its use of material. Its lighter first and third sections, which acquire more stress towards their end, are rather broad in cast; the central section, on the other hand, is brief; so that here again the extent of the whole gives an impression of symmetry (long—short—long, instead of five equal parts). This central section is emphasized in a most singular fashion. The movement began with its own characteristic second theme, in the manner of a fugue, two statements being duly carried out according to rule. The third statement, due to appear in the bass, enters, but only after a fashion, and is again diverted in the next measure, its first measure being then repeated as a fragment in sequence, not as the theme in its proper function. Thus one awaits with suspense this entry of the theme in the bass, avoided in the first section, an entry which would be the more noticeable as the theme moves almost constantly in sixteenths. But no more does it appear in the second section. On the contrary, it is not realized until the middle of the third (the middle) section, where it works in com-

mon with the King's theme in an upper voice. Nor does this very striking entry occur again anywhere in the piece. Thus the middle portion of the middle section acquires special significance and special weight: a striking detail in the middle of the section as in the middle of the piece, in the middle of the sonata as in the middle of the whole work.

Each of these four realms of the "Musical Offering" realizes a different sort of symmetry, so that no impression should arise that here a thought-up intellectual form has been constructed. But the fact that each division is subjected to the fundamental principle of symmetry assures the whole a highest unity and gives the feeling that its plan has grown from a foundation even deeper than that of any of Bach's earlier works.

When we find ourselves face to face with such a plan, we are at first tempted to think that we are reading into Bach's late works intentions that were foreign to him. But in truth the problem that finds its final solution in the "Musical Offering" is one that had occupied composers for centuries. It had been customary in earlier days, for reasons we cannot go into here, as a rule to write and publish not single compositions but collections, more or less extensive, of independent pieces. Already in the XVth century efforts were made to give the pieces in such collections some inner connection. Various methods were tried in the course of time, a high point of interest being reached in the last decades of the XVIIth century. Several composers who made such experiments, among them Johann Kuhnau, Bach's predecessor as cantor and *director musices* at St. Thomas's in Leipzig, and the Baden Kapellmeister, J. C. F. Fischer, whom Bach thought very highly of, were well known to Bach. Each of these attempts to give these collections a unity he took up and perfected. Every one of the works that he himself published was a collection in this sense; each of them contains a contribution of Bach's towards the solution of this problem. At first these collections of pieces were brought together on the basis of tonality. In Bach's handling of form the most important collective principle in the individual movement was repetition, the recapitulation of a section or the principles realized therein in some other separate section. Bach carried over this principle of repetition to compositions of more than one movement; further, he also carried it out in collections. The inventions taken as a whole show the first beginnings. The third part of the *Clavierübung* gives the first more extensive use of symmetrical repetition within a series of separate pieces. The "Musical Offering" brings into being for the first time in the whole of



*Sechste Fuge, von P. S. Bach d. originaler Handschrift.*



Facsimile of the First Page of the Six-Part Fugue from  
"The Musical Offering," in Bach's Autograph

*Canones diversi super Thema Regium*

*Canon 1a 2.*

*1a 2 Violin: in Unisono.*

*3a 2 per Motum contrarium*

*4a 2 per Augmentationem, contraria Motu*

*5a 2.*

*Fuga canonica in Epitrapente*

*Notulis creantur,  
 titulus creantur  
 Tertium.  
 Regis.  
 facienda cuncta,  
 time alenda  
 gloria.*

Facsimile of the First Page of the "Various Canons over the King's Theme," as it appears in the copy of "The Musical Offering" presented to Frederick the Great

music history an entire, symmetrically self-contained plan. This work is the first collection to possess that complete unity of disposition which Bach's single or several-movement compositions had long possessed. The long development, the concentrated effort that led to the sketched plan of the "Musical Offering," show that the relationships represented within the work are not accidental. The question, how far a plan of this sort was consciously pursued, may remain open. Bach strove for unity in all his works; he had a closer feeling for form and the connection of parts than any other composer. Thus towards the end of his life his plans came to have such singleness of intent that they may as well have sprung from intellectual arrangement as from precision of feeling. At any rate, they represent a culminating point in artistic form, and in no field of musical structure have more complex wholes been brought together than in such works as the B Minor Mass, the Goldberg Variations, the "Musical Offering," and the "Art of the Fugue."

The "Musical Offering" owes its existence to a special occasion, and in many details Bach allowed his work to be determined by this fact. But in these late years his personality was much too concentrated for him to have been able to write works not of necessity grown out of the development of his own nature. What sort of pieces he put into the "Musical Offering" was determined by his relation to Frederick the Great. But out of these pieces he created a whole which belongs to the noblest and most highly perfected expression of his personality. Over and above this, he brought into this work that great unity for which he strove in the last decades of his life. Bach was the most systematic of all composers. With the greatest conscientiousness he made himself familiar with the styles of his predecessors and contemporaries, the characteristics of the musical nations, all the types and forms of music, selecting them, cultivating them. When he began to engrave his own compositions—he was then a man of some forty-five years—he sought not only to show the world what he himself could do, but also to give as complete a picture as possible of what could be done in every field of music. His publications were all of instrumental music; he actually gave a most complete cross-section of this field.

He brought out four collections which he called "Clavierübung." The first part of these contained partitas, suites for keyboard instrument, each of which began with a different type of opening and, so far as this was possible, included different types of movements. In the last part of the "Clavierübung" Bach gave an unequalled example of a set of

variations—that other form which had grown up through the secular keyboard instrument of the time—the Goldberg Variations. Bach, as we know, did not like the variation form; the fact that he nevertheless composed such a work shows how important he felt the systematic rounding-out of his publications to be. One part of the “Clavierübung” is devoted to music for the organ, the sacred keyboard instrument. It contains arrangements of chorales, two-voice solo pieces, and the famous E-flat major Prelude and Fugue; the Prelude, a toccata in the style of the Northern organ masters, opening the volume, the Fugue, a *ricercar* in the manner of the Italian organists, bringing it to a close. Another part of the “Clavierübung” represents orchestral music. Two types had been developed, the suite with overture and dance-movements in the French style, and the concerto for solo instrument and *tutti*-group in Italy. Bach translates the musical idea of these types to the two-manual harpsichord and publishes what he calls an Overture in the French Manner and a Concerto in the Italian Taste.

One type of music was still missing in this representative whole, music for a small ensemble of solo instruments, chamber-music in the newer, narrower sense. The “Musical Offering” filled this gap. The sonata was the underlying form of chamber-music at the time. The canon was the form in which equality of rights among music-making partners was most clearly apparent. The fugue, furthermore, as it appears in the “Musical Offering,” represents an older form of joint music-making, the *ricercar*. The Italian *ricercari* of the XVIIth century, as for example those of Frescobaldi, were intended to be played on *all sorts of instruments*, keyboard instruments or ensembles of single-voiced instruments. In the *Ricercar a 6* Bach not only took the Italian master’s style as starting-point but chose also his manner of publication, namely in score. From the fact that Bach here and in the “Art of the Fugue” showed his preference for publishing in open score, the “*tabulatura nova*,” rather than in keyboard score, it has been deduced that he was here offering abstract music, music to be read, to be studied, not to be played. But on the one hand we may be sure that Bach would not have recognized as music any music that was not conceived as sounding; and on the other hand it is clear from the history of the use of scores for instrumental music of several parts that this sort of notation was simply intended to save the players the trouble of writing out the separate parts. The three-voice fugue had been improvised on a keyboard instrument, and the six-voice fugue is also so devised that it can be played with two hands. But at the

same time, as the score shows, it is intended for an ensemble, and Bach indicates, by calling both pieces *Ricercar*, that they were both derived from a type of ensemble music, as the Italian concerto and French overture were from orchestral types. Thus every part of the "Musical Offering" serves the idea of representing contemporary ensemble-music for a small number of instruments. No other form had grown up in this field, so that the "Musical Offering" actually does round off that systematic presentation of contemporary instrumental music at which Bach aimed in the "Clavierübung." With admirable consistency it takes its place in that planned whole which determined Bach's creative output in the last period of his life. The work is a fine piece of occasional music, but at the same time it was cast in a form to make it in the deepest sense one of the few representative capital works of its creator.



The history of the "Musical Offering" may be briefly sketched. The engraver to whom Bach entrusted it lived in Thuringia, too far from Leipzig for Bach to supervise the engraving himself. It was printed in such a hurry that Bach didn't even have time to read proof. For the pieces in keyboard notation—the *Ricercar a 6*, preserved in Bach's hand, is in this notation—the engraver selected oblong sheets, for the rest, upright. The space left over on the last page of the two fugues he filled with canons, putting the rest of the canons together on two pages.<sup>3</sup> A first copy of the work was sent to Frederick. This copy, the destination of which is in no doubt since it bears the manuscript additions already

<sup>3</sup> In the original edition the first canon appears on the last page of the three-voice fugue, as it should. The space left on the last page of the six-voice fugue would not have been sufficient to reproduce the last canon (*fuga canonica*), so the two canons before the last are included at this point. The first canon of the second group was printed in parts immediately following the sonata, as it should. Four canons of the first group still stand together in the original edition, preceded by the crab-canon, followed by the *fuga canonica*. Obviously the engraver of the original edition thought that, having found a place for the first, third, and fourth canons of the second group, he had better combine the two remaining canons of this group with the first group, putting the *fuga canonica* at the end and the crab-canon at the beginning—the very place whence he had taken the canon which appears after the three-voice *ricercar*. The fact alone that Bach wrote two groups of five canons each makes it very probable that he wanted to put the canons of each group together. The fact that four of one group follow each other without interruption strengthens this conjecture. Besides, the first canon of each group may be considered as correctly placed in the original edition. That the two canons *a 2* and the canon *a 4* belong together is pretty obvious because they all bear the same type of title and all fail to indicate their solutions: the "*quaerendo invenietis*" which heads the first of them must have been meant for all three. Taking all this into account, no other order of the work than that described above would be satisfying.

described, is printed partly on especially large and fine paper. As the sheets were not even sufficient to take all the parts of this first impression, the paper cannot have been ordered either by the engraver or by Bach himself, since in either case further sheets could surely have been had. Presumably the King had had these sheets given to Bach when he promised to use the theme in a published work; they may have come from one of the paper-works built by the King. No indications have been discovered, however, that his majesty appreciated or used the gift. His copy found its way into the wonderful library of his sister Anna Amalie, who was very fond of music and seriously interested in it; and here it was preserved. The only known copy of the movements for flute, violin, and *continuo* is that in this dedication copy. The princess had had the first part, to her the most important, bound in leather.

These facts have clouded the picture posterity has formed of the work. Spitta, the otherwise so sure and logically thinking historian, let himself be led to entirely false conclusions by the appearance of this dedication copy. He thought Bach had had the binding done and had first sent to the King only the music contained in it. He thought, further, that the variations in the paper showed that Bach had composed the sections separately and without any plan and had so sent them off. And he thought, finally, that the sonata had been the last piece to be written and had only been sent to the engraver after the six-voice fugue. The engraver, however, as has been said, used the last fascicle of the original edition for the six-voice fugue. Furthermore it is evident from the story of how it came to be written that this very six-voice fugue was the real cause of the origin of the whole work; so that it is unthinkable that Bach should not have sent it with his first offering to the King. Aside from this, Spitta's assumption that Bach sent the sections separately to be engraved, fails to explain either the variations in the paper or the different types of engraving. Meanwhile no one took the trouble to check up on Spitta's assumptions or even to think the matter through. So the "Musical Offering" counted only as an occasional work, a "collection of fragments, separately composed, casually thrown together." At best it was held to be a sort of preparatory study for the "Art of the Fugue" and as such not altogether insignificant.

In reality, nothing contradicts the much more natural assumption that Bach sketched, wrote out, and dispatched this work as a whole in itself. Its inner disposition shows how particularly Bach strove here for unity and wholeness. Again, this work is in principle different from



the "Art of the Fugue." It offers a section from the field of instrumental music, complete, but without pedagogic intent or progressive arrangement. The "Art of the Fugue" deals with one special problem and sets forth a system of technical possibilities in contrapuntal composition. The "Musical Offering" belongs with the other parts of the "Clavierübung" and together with them gives such a complete picture of the instrumental music of the time that there is nothing further to add. The "Art of the Fugue" reveals another sort of unity in that it presents, not various types and styles within those types, but the forms to be found within a given type. One might compare with it the "Canonic Variations on the Christmas Song 'Vom Himmel hoch,' " but not the "Musical Offering."

During my studies on the structural unity in Bach's collections and in the "Art of the Fugue" in particular, I succeeded in 1928 in finding the connecting relationships by which Bach was able to make a whole out of the "Musical Offering."<sup>4</sup> Form in this work proved so strict that it sufficed to establish the unity of the whole even in performance. During a Bach celebration in Leipzig under the leadership of Karl Straube, at that time Bach's successor as cantor at St. Thomas's, the "Musical Offering" was performed for the first time in its entirety, and it showed what beauty and expressiveness are to be found in this so much misunderstood late work of the great master. Since the work represents the chamber-music of its day, I have set all the movements—most of them Bach left open to be set as preferred—for individual solo-instruments. In order to let the contrapuntal picture clearly delineate itself, it was necessary to combine bowed instruments and wood-winds, as was gen-

<sup>4</sup> No satisfactory edition of the work as yet exists. All editions offer a thoroughly senseless arrangement of the sections. The first edition to appear after the original was that of Breitkopf & Härtel in 1832. The Peters edition, the only one that has had some circulation, gives most of the canons in the original unsolved notation, and anyone who wants to play the music is faced with the long and laborious task of working them out for himself. The *Bach-Gesellschaft* edition is less reliable in respect of this work than of others. In the six-voice fugue it follows, like all other editions, the first printing and not Bach's autograph from which this was engraved. One of the canons is wrongly solved, another is incompletely given. The realization of the figured bass of the sonata, which stands in the name of Kirnberger but is really the work of one of his pupils, was taken from an inexact copy. A realization of the figured bass of the canon for flute, violin, and *continuo*, made by the same pupil of Kirnberger's and corrected by him—an addition to the few old realizations we have—, was not yet known. The Trio is taken not from the original parts but from a copy and is full of mistakes in the phrasing. A few editions of portions of the work are based on the *Bach-Gesellschaft* edition. Thus there are several editions of the sonata, none of which is reliable; though at least this portion of the work has become more generally known. A badly prepared edition of the canons appeared in the catalogue of a little-known German house; and of the six-voice fugue, which has frequently been performed, especially on the organ, there has been published an arrangement for string orchestra and piano, in not very good style, by Edwin Fischer, which has also been recorded for the gramophone. Mention should also be made of the fact that Busoni treated parts of the work in a Fantasy.

erally customary in the Baroque period. For home music-making, nevertheless, it would be perfectly fitting to perform the work with strings, a flute, and a keyboard instrument. A few arrangements for concert use have followed mine, some without acknowledgment, some making use of mine. None of them take into account the structural disposition of the work, though only this can open up the possibility of feeling the work as a whole. So long as one sees in the "Musical Offering" only a series of varied and entirely unrelated manipulations of the same theme, one has no æsthetic justification for performing the parts in this collection together. As soon as one grasps how closely the parts unite in a single organism, one can no longer doubt that a work like this can stand and deserves performance as a whole quite as much as the Goldberg Variations or even the B Minor Mass, which Bach could never have performed as a whole and the larger form of which is no less a collection of parts than that of the "Musical Offering."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> A new edition of the "Musical Offering" by the author is in the course of preparation.—*Ed.*

*(Translated by M. D. Herter Norton)*

# MEDLÆVAL QUARTAL HARMONY:

## A PLEA FOR RESTORATION—PART II<sup>27</sup>

By JOSEPH YASSER

### TONE-SAVING DEVICES IN PRE-DIATONIC MUSIC

THE most familiar form of the pentatonic scale, and the form most widely used by various people in the pre-diatonic stage of their musical development, is the one without semitones, consisting of the notes A-C-D-F-G. This is the form dealt with in Part I. It produces five different modal species, each using a different one of these notes as the tonic, *viz.*:

A-C-D-F-G-a  
C-D-F-G-a-c  
D-F-G-a-c-d  
F-G-a-c-d-f  
G-a-c-d-f-g

This system, belonging usually to a stage of development in which the interval of a third is not yet appreciated as a consonance and cannot, therefore, be employed in the acoustic construction of scales, is tuned according to a series of pure fifths, F-C-G-D-A, brought within the compass of an octave. As to the two "*pièn*-tones," or auxiliary tones, which fill in the two minor thirds (D-F and A-C) of this scale in each of its modal species, they are derived from the continuation of the straight quintal series either *upwards*, producing E and B, or *downwards*, producing B-flat and E-flat, as may be seen from the following graph. (In all subsequent illustrations the *pièn*-tones, as well as the notes from which they are derived, will be found in parentheses.)

→  
(E♭-B♭)-F-C-G-D-A-(E-B)  
←

Examination of the extant melodic material, old and new, which belongs unambiguously to pre-diatonic music shows in general that

<sup>27</sup> All parts of this paper were first read, in somewhat shorter form, before the Greater New York Chapter of the American Musicological Society, March 23, 1937.

both these pairs of extra fifths play their part in the formation of *pièn*-tones within the pentatonic scale, but that the *pièn*-tones corresponding to the notes E and B appear to be used (although for reasons so far unknown) much more frequently than those corresponding to the notes E-flat and B-flat. The unequal use, in musical practice, of the differently derived *pièn*-tones is no hindrance, however, to a theoretical insertion of all four variants in the complete form of the pentatonic scale as represented below. This form also has five different modal species which, arranged like those in the foregoing table, will appear as follows:

A-(B $\flat$  or B $\sharp$ )-C-D-(E $\flat$  or E $\sharp$ )-F-G-a  
 C-D-(E $\flat$  or E $\sharp$ )-F-G-a-(b $\flat$  or b $\sharp$ )-c  
 D-(E $\flat$  or E $\sharp$ )-F-G-a-(b $\flat$  or b $\sharp$ )-c-d  
 F-G-a-(b $\flat$  or b $\sharp$ )-c-d-(e $\flat$  or e $\sharp$ )-f  
 G-a-(b $\flat$  or b $\sharp$ )-c-d-(e $\flat$  or e $\sharp$ )-f-g

It should be clearly understood that, although any particular selection of the differently inflected *pièn*-tones on the part of the practical musician is optional in pentatonic melodies, the two variants found in the lower as well as those in the upper part of the octave are not supposed to be (and, normally, are not) used consecutively. Save for some external and rather questionable effects of vocal "portamento," the progression E $\flat$ -E $\sharp$ , or B $\flat$ -B $\sharp$ , would be just as unnatural in a pentatonic melody as, let us say, the progression C $\sharp$ -D $\flat$ , or D $\sharp$ -E $\flat$ , etc., in a (purely intoned) diatonic melody.

As to the mechanism of this inner and spontaneous selection of *pièn*-tones in actual musical practice, it may work in quite different, even though always natural ways. The selection will depend mainly on whether the upper or the lower ending of the complete quintal series (see p. 333) happens to be more distinctly felt by the people who avail themselves of the pentatonic scale. When it is the upper ending of the quintal series, the notes E and B will be used as *pièn*-tones. When it is the lower ending, practice will favor E-flat and B-flat. Should, however, both endings of the quintal series be felt with more or less equal distinctness, then one note from the upper, and another from the lower ending (each immediately adjacent in the series to one of the terminal notes in the central group of five), that is, E and B-flat, are likely to be used as *pièn*-tones. The use of E-flat and B, on the other hand, would be somewhat far-fetched, if at all possible, since these two notes do *not* form a continuous quintal series with the five central notes F-C-G-D-A. Consequently, there could exist, in practice, three different forms of the

pentatonic scale, resulting from the three described methods of using the *pièn*-tones, each form producing five different modal species, all of which may be grouped in the following manner:

*Form 1*

A-(B)-C-D-(E)-F-G-a  
 C-D-(E)-F-G-a-(b)-c  
 D-(E)-F-G-a-(b)-c-d  
 F-G-a-(b)-c-d-(e)-f  
 G-a-(b)-c-d-(e)-f-g

*Form 2*

A-(B $\flat$ )-C-D-(E $\flat$ )-F-G-a  
 C-D-(E $\flat$ )-F-G-a-(b $\flat$ )-c  
 D-(E $\flat$ )-F-G-a-(b $\flat$ )-c-d  
 F-G-a-(b $\flat$ )-c-d-(e $\flat$ )-f  
 G-a-(b $\flat$ )-c-d-(e $\flat$ )-f-g

*Form 3*

A-(B $\flat$ )-C-D-(E)-F-G-a  
 C-D-(E)-F-G-a-(b $\flat$ )-c  
 D-(E)-F-G-a-(b $\flat$ )-c-d  
 F-G-a-(b $\flat$ )-c-d-(e)-f  
 G-a-(b $\flat$ )-c-d-(e)-f-g

It follows as a matter of course that, once the proper intonation of the *pièn*-tones is already sufficiently clear to the "pentatonically minded" people, no more than one of these three forms (with some or all of its modal species) is commonly used by them at an early stage. As time goes on, however, two, and sometimes even all three forms are bound gradually to be put into actual use for different pieces of music.

It will be readily understood that this diverse practice cannot have represented so simple a problem for the composers and performers of the remote past as it would for us at present. First, we must consider the fact that the general number of seven scale-tones (5+2), normal at this stage of evolution, inevitably grows to nine, under the circumstances described. Second, the treatment of the variously inflected *pièn*-tones must be subject to a good deal of inconvenience and confusion when a full awareness of what the pentatonic tonality really represents does not yet exist, when an adequate notation is still to be invented, and when musical instruments are still more or less primitive. It should not be

surprising, therefore, that the idea of finding some "tone-saving device" to bring the number of scale-tones back from nine to seven (and yet preserve the musical advantages of nine) occupied the minds of musicians even at this fairly elementary stage in the evolution of music.

As a matter of fact, we do find occasional efforts in this direction, although it is difficult to ascertain at present whether these efforts were conscious or instinctive in any one instance. The traditional tuning of the Scotch bagpipe, in which two tones out of seven are each placed artificially in the center of a minor third and thus become "neutralized" in their intonation, may be regarded as one of the attempts to solve this problem by a sort of "short cut." For, when applied to the complete pentatonic scale, this tuning replaces the two *pairs* of *pièn*-tones by two *single* tones, one of which turns out to be pitched exactly between the replaced B-flat and B, and the other between the replaced E-flat and E. Thus, by means of a certain compromise, *two* artificially tuned *pièn*-tones are made to perform the function of *four* natural *pièn*-tones—a clever trick which is not too easily detected during the performance of basically pentatonic folk melodies. As an incidental result of this tuning, the intervals immediately above and below the two artificially installed *pièn*-tones are transformed into three-quarter-tones:

A  $\frac{3}{4}$  *pièn*  $\frac{3}{4}$  C  $\frac{1}{4}$  D  $\frac{3}{4}$  *pièn*  $\frac{3}{4}$  F  $\frac{1}{4}$  G  $\frac{1}{4}$  a, etc.<sup>28</sup>

That this sort of tuning should be found in a country where pentatonic melodies flourish even to this day is not at all surprising. And it is worthy of note that practically the same tuning was in vogue for about three hundred years in Arabian musical practice, from the time it was originated by Zalzal, the famous VIIIth-century lutenist at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd—probably earlier than its use on the Scotch bagpipe. There are also a considerable number of Mohammedan tunes, sung at present in the various countries of the Near East, which are similarly based on various modal species of a scale in which the semitones are replaced by three-quarter-tones.<sup>29</sup>

Furthermore, certain types of biblical cantillation which, centuries ago, went into the making of Gregorian airs, are now sung, by Oriental

<sup>28</sup> The actual tonal compass of the Scotch bagpipe covers nine notes which, in terms of the tabulations in this article, range from F to g (the absolute pitch of this instrument is a whole tone higher); it permits, therefore, a full use of two pentatonic modal species, F—f and G—g.

<sup>29</sup> The theoretical 24-tone Arabic system, into which this scale is incorporated, merely helps the performer to handle the unusual three-quarter-tones. For ample information and abundant bibliography on Arabic music see H. G. Farmer's article *Music* in the "Encyclopædia of Islam," No. 48, pp. 749 ff., London, 1933; also cf. A. J. Ellis' measurements appended to H. L. Helmholtz, "Sensations of Tone," ed. of 1912, p. 515.



Jews, to that particular Arabic (or Scotch) intonation which includes three-quarter-tones arranged in the order given above.<sup>80</sup> Thus, strangely enough, the melodies that helped to generate those of Gregorian chant are now being adapted—unwittingly, and in a roundabout way—to a scale of foreign derivation, which represents a “tone-saving” form of the pentatonic series that underlies both Jewish and Gregorian music.

All this may be taken as an indirect indication that the music of the ancient Arabs, and apparently of the modern Arabs as well—the melopoeia of which is commonly associated with all sorts of diatono-chromatic and microtonic constructions—, should really be looked upon as leaning, in its fundamental outline, at least partly upon the pentatonic scale. It seems that this scale has merely been concealed, even from the Arabs themselves, by the *zawā'id*, or elaborate ornamentations, pleasing to their musical taste.<sup>81</sup>

The seven-tone equal temperament of the Siamese may be regarded as another form of “tone-saving device” applied to the pentatonic scale. The “neutral” intonation of the two artificial *pièn*-tones, which, in this form of temperament, results from the equalization of *all* the seven intervals within an octave, resembles, in a way, that of the Scotch bagpipe. And it may similarly serve as a substitute for the variable intonation of the four natural *pièn*-tones.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Cf. A. Z. Idelsohn, “Jewish Music in its Historical Development,” 1929, p. 25.

<sup>81</sup> A brief mention of Arabic pentatonicism is found in *Musik des Orients* (Breslau, 1929), p. 47, by Robert Lachmann, who, upon the writer's inquiry, has given as the source of this reference two mediæval works, one of the IXth and the other of the XIIIth century, namely: *Risāla fī ḥubri tālīf al-alḥān* (German transl., 1931, pp. 12-13) by Al-Kindi; and *Kitāb al-adwār* (Mss. Brit. Museum, Or. 136, fol. 32, and Or. 2361, fol. 26) by Safi Al-Dīn. As the original Arabic music of these periods has not come down to our times, it will perhaps not be amiss to note, in this connection, that the XIIIth-century *Cántigas de Santa María* of Alfonso el Sabio, which are very likely to have been influenced by the age-old music of the Spanish Moors (although probably not to such an enormous degree as claimed by Julian Ribera), contain a goodly number of “trichordal” motives, and sometimes even quite lengthy passages characteristic of the pentatonic scale. This becomes particularly evident when the melodies of this collection are stripped of the “plicas”—those somewhat mysterious ornamental figures of the mensuralists—which, according to certain writers, were derived from the old quilismas (cf. *Dictionnaire . . . de plain chant*, by M. J. de Ortiqne, p. 1298, Paris, 1854).

<sup>82</sup> Each of these Siamese intervals exceeds the Scotch three-quarter-tone by about one-tenth of a tempered tone. See *Tonsystem und Musik der Siamesen*, by Carl Stumpf (*Beiträge zur Akustik und Musikwissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1901, Heft 3), and A. J. Ellis, Addenda to Helmholtz, *Op. cit.*, pp. 518 and 556. According to Y. R. Chao, a contributor to the “Symposium on Chinese Culture” (ed. by S. H. Chen Zen, Shanghai, 1931), the tones on many Chinese musical instruments almost form an equally tempered seven-tone scale. The author seems to attribute this tuning to ignorance or carelessness on the part of the makers of these instruments. But this is not necessarily an adequate explanation. A curious reference to a seven-tone equally tempered dulcimer used by Dutch peasantry is given by D. R. van Nierop, a XVIIth-century mathematician, although it is impossible to ascertain at present whether this tuning was a remnant of an “adjusted” European pentatonic practice, or was due to other causes. (See J. Murray Barbour, “Nierop's Hackebort,” in *The Musical Quarterly*, XX [1934], 312.)

## THE GRÆCO-GREGORIAN MÉSALLIANCE

Returning now to the practice of early mediæval musicians, it appears that they, too, made use of a "tone-saving device," and a much more practical one for vocal music, while they were working out an adjustment of the fundamentally pentatonic liturgical chants of the Christian Church to the diatonic system of contemporaneous Greek theorists. Whether these musicians were fully aware of what the whole procedure essentially amounted to is not known. But one thing is certain, namely, that as a result of this adjustment mediæval musicians achieved their immediate aim. They succeeded in reducing the number of tones which the scale variants of the liturgical chants originally called for, and this without resorting to the artificial methods of the essentially "instrumental" temperament, described under the previous heading. This reduction, moreover, affected neither the chants themselves nor the variously inflected *piên*-tones. For it was carried out through the simplest and most harmless method, which, however these musicians considered it, turned out to be nothing but transposition.

To understand all this thoroughly, let us now look into the most important historical circumstances connected with the mutual adjustment of musical theory and practice, to which we have referred.

One may well imagine that with the necessity of memorizing the rather extensive musical material assiduously accumulated from various sources by the scattered Christian communities of the first few centuries of our era, its appropriate handling represented no small practical problem, despite the comparative simplicity of the early rites. But it stands to reason that, with the imperial protection afforded Christianity by Constantine the Great (died A.D. 337) and with the resulting elaboration of Church services—which caused a rapid development of various musico-liturgical forms and increased the influx of new melodic material—the solution of this problem must have become a pressing necessity. The latter part of the IVth century may therefore perhaps be taken as a suitable date for the initial steps in the long process of what mediæval musicians considered a scientific classification and systematization of liturgical chants.

Since the Roman Church was at this time largely Greek in its rites, language, and personnel, one wonders little that the tonal system selected by ecclesiastical musicians for the purpose of putting in order the huge

and manifold musical material at their disposal was of Greek origin. One may even doubt whether these musicians (or their secular colleagues) were well enough acquainted with any other tonal system than the one which appears to have enjoyed the widest reputation at the time. We refer to the latest system of Ptolemy, or, rather, of his disciples, who somewhat modified and crystallized the ideas of their great teacher. (The modification was probably completed in the IIIrd century, that is, about one hundred years after the time of Ptolemy.) The association with Greek theory, then, was not perhaps so much a matter of choice on the part of mediæval musicians, as it was the result of direct contact with a system which, though foreign, had long existed—largely as a product of theoretical speculation—in their midst.

However, except in its "tone-saving" aspects, which we shall discuss presently, the association with the post-Ptolemaic system was not an altogether happy one for Christian chant. The system appears to have been much too inflexible for the diversity of the musical material. The mere fact that it took about four hundred years (from the IVth century to the VIIIth) to complete their mutual adjustment even in a general way, with certain details not definitely settled until a considerably later date, in itself shows that Christian liturgical music did not fit naturally and easily into the current Greek system.

The principal feature of the alien system, aside from its "tone-saving" potentialities, was that it brought a certain easily grasped orderliness into the diversity of the musical material in question, as well as a comparative simplicity in handling it. Such a quality is, no doubt, desirable in matters relating to classification and systematization, but it is often attainable only at the expense of subtlety, which, in the arts, is not always advantageously sacrificed.

We shall be able to grasp the entire situation more clearly if we recall, in the first place, that the post-Ptolemaic system comprised only seven different tones within an octave, and that, normally, seven different modes were formed upon them, one on each step. We say "normally" because an extra (eighth) mode—an exact replica of the first, but in a higher octave—topped off the entire system, apparently for the sake of theoretical completeness. It was the general tendency of the ancient theorists to confine themselves, in scale construction, within the boundaries of one of the recognized consonances. In accordance with this

tendency, the eighth mode was appended to the original seven, in order that they might all together cover the interval of a double octave—the largest consonance acknowledged at the time—as the following representation makes clear:

Hypodorian	A-B-C-D-E-F-G-a
Hypophrygian	B-C-D-E-F-G-a-b
Hypolydian	C-D-E-F-G-a-b-c
Dorian	D-E-F-G-a-b-c-d
Phrygian	E-F-G-a-b-c-d-e
Lydian	F-G-a-b-c-d-e-f
Mixolydian	G-a-b-c-d-e-f-g
Hypermixolydian	a-b-c-d-e-f-g-a'

To adjust to this system the group of liturgical chants whose scales corresponded, according to our theory, to the five modal species tabulated on p. 335 under the heading *Form 1*, involved no difficulties whatever. The scales of this group were simply assimilated to five (out of seven) Greek modes. Certain technical incongruities remained, to be sure, with respect to the finals, dominants, *pièn*-tones, etc., which will be discussed later. There were obstacles, however, in the way of immediately adjusting the two other groups of liturgical chants (tabulated under *Forms 2* and *3*) whose pentatonic backbone (A-C-D-F-G, in various permutations) was the same as that of the first group, but the intonation of whose *pièn*-tones was different. These could not be fitted, evidently, into the tonal scheme of the Greek modes (as given above without reference to the tetrachord *synemmenon*), unless by appropriate transposition. As one may gather from the tabulation of the scales under the headings *Form 2* and *Form 3*, the tonal adjustment of these chants to the Greek system required two separate transpositions: a whole tone up for *Form 2* and a perfect fifth up for *Form 3*. Owing to the Pythagorean tuning of the Greek system, this transposition involved no acoustical discrepancies of any sort. It was important mainly in that it made possible the shifting of the *pièn*-tones E-flat and B-flat to the "non-chromatic" notes C and F. Thus, the scales of the liturgical chants which originally contained one or both of these *pièn*-tones could now, like the initial group (*Form 1*), be assimilated to some of the Greek modes, as the two following tabulations clearly show.

*Form 2, transposed*

B-(C)-D-E-(F)-G-a-b  
 D-E-(F)-G-a-b-(c)-d  
 E-(F)-G-a-b-(c)-d-e  
 G-a-b-(c)-d-e-(f)-g  
 a-b-(c)-d-e-(f)-g-a'

*Form 3, transposed*

E-(F)-G-a-(b)-c-d-e  
 G-a-(b)-c-d-e-(f)-g  
 a-(b)-c-d-e-(f)-g-a'  
 c-d-e-(f)-g-a'-(b')-c'  
 d-e-(f)-g-a'-(b')-c'-d'

The method of transposition described carried with it two important advantages. First, it reduced the number of tones needed for the three basic pentatonic scale-forms from *nine* to *seven*. Second, it enabled the mediæval musician to squeeze the *fifteen* pentatonic modal species—three different forms with five species each—into a system of *seven* different modes (the “duplicating” eighth mode we exclude from consideration for the moment). As a result, the Greek system served not only as a “tone-saving device” but also as a “mode-saving device,” and in the latter capacity it was eventually found even more important than in the former, as will be seen. At any rate, it may be readily grasped that, thanks to the above transposition, two and sometimes three pentatonic modal species, belonging to the same seven-tone series (5+2), could now be taken care of by a single one of the diatonic modes of the Greeks—on condition that a certain practical provision were made for the discrimination of their differently located *pièn*-tones.

Before making any further comments upon this aspect, as well as upon the other practical considerations involved in the actual use of all the fifteen pentatonic modal species, it will be appropriate to show more explicitly how these species could be theoretically set within the frame of the post-Ptolemaic system. We will now re-tabulate, therefore, these fifteen modal species in such a way that those which have an identical sequence of notes, even though the *pièn*-tones fall at different points in that sequence, will be grouped together. The column at the extreme right refers the reader in each case to the appropriate tabulation given either at the top of this page or on page 335.

*Post-Ptolemaic  
diatonic  
tabulation*

*Fifteen pentatonic modal species  
classified according to their range*

*Hypothetical penta-  
tonic tabulation  
(tr. = transposed)*

Hypodorian	{	A-(B)-C-D-(E)-F-G-a	Form 1
		A-B-(C)-D-E-(F)-G-a	" 2 (tr.)
		A-(B)-C-D-E-(F)-G-a	" 3 "
Hypophrygian		B-(C)-D-E-(F)-G-a-b	Form 2 (tr.)
Hypolydian	{	C-D-(E)-F-G-a-(b)-c	Form 1
		C-D-E-(F)-G-a-(b)-c	" 3 (tr.)
Dorian	{	D-(E)-F-G-a-(b)-c-d	Form 1
		D-E-(F)-G-a-b-(c)-d	" 2 (tr.)
		D-E-(F)-G-a-(b)-c-d	" 3 "
Phrygian	{	E-(F)-G-a-b-(c)-d-e	Form 2 (tr.)
		E-(F)-G-a-(b)-c-d-e	" 3 "
Lydian		F-G-a-(b)-c-d-(e)-f	Form 1
Mixolydian	{	G-a-(b)-c-d-(e)-f-g	Form 1
		G-a-b-(c)-d-e-(f)-g	" 2 (tr.)
		G-a-(b)-c-d-e-(f)-g	" 3 "

This re-tabulation produces seven divisions corresponding, in the notes used, to the seven post-Ptolemaic modes. So far as we know, these modes had no theoretical distinction between the regular tones and the *pièn*-tones such as is found in all the pentatonic species adjusted to them.

Whether any such "merged" form of scalar classification, with the *pièn*-tones definitely marked, ever actually existed we have no means of knowing; the question is in any case absolutely immaterial to our explanation of the entire process of modal evolution. It is quite possible that the beginning of this process took place in the form not of any outward manifestation but of a more or less unconscious development in the minds of the early Christian musicians.<sup>33</sup> The actual exposition

<sup>33</sup> In weighing this possibility, it may be well to keep in mind the objective view of a comparative musicologist: "Systems exist even when their makers are not conscious of them, just as grammar exists without grammarians,—so prone is the human mind to the creation of patterns in all manifestations of its activity." (Helen H. Roberts, "The Viewpoint of Comparative Musicology," in the 1936 Volume of *Proceedings of the Music Teachers National Association*).



of their scalar theories may not have begun until long after this initial (and unconscious) stage of modal evolution. However, whether the fact was consciously realized or vaguely felt, the possibility of a systematization of the liturgical chants in the spirit of the above classification must have appealed greatly to any craving for simplicity and order the musicians may have had.

If our *pièn*-tone theory of the quilisma (explained in Part I of this article) is basically correct, the nominal attribution of two or three different pentatonic species to one and the same Greek mode, inevitable in the "diatonic" arrangement, could hardly have been regarded by ecclesiastical musicians of the time as particularly harmful, from a purely practical viewpoint. For the location of the quilismas in a scale (or in a melody based on it) was sufficient guide for identifying the pentatonic species. It will be remembered that the variously distributed *pièn*-tones constituted the sole distinctions between these species, and that during the period of oral transmission the quilismas could be easily spotted by the peculiar manner of their vocal rendition, a reference to which has already been made (see footnote 18 in Part I of this article).

Even a cursory examination of the plainsong collection of the Roman Church that has come down to our days suggests strongly that such a practical rôle must indeed have been assigned to the quilisma. This seems probable chiefly from the different and characteristic locations at which the symbol of the quilisma is found in the various chants which, at present, are classified under the same "diatonic" designation. The distribution of the quilismas bears witness also to the fact that hardly any one of the fifteen pentatonic modal species was wholly neglected in the music of the Catholic liturgy. These pentatonic species were not all used, naturally, to an equal degree. Some of them, in fact, were employed only occasionally. And they do not all seem to have been introduced simultaneously into actual practice.

A thorough and detailed analysis, in this connection, would have enabled us to reveal in exact figures the extent to which each of the pentatonic modal species was actually used in the Roman Church, at least at the time when mediæval music was written down in its earliest notation. Such an analysis being barred, however, by limitations of space, the reader is asked to be satisfied temporarily with the few more or less general statistical observations now to be offered in support of our views.

STATISTICAL DATA <sup>34</sup>

Out of nearly 1600 Gregorian items which at present constitute the principal musical material of the Catholic liturgy, only a little more than 700 contain no quilismas at all. The number of those which do contain quilismas, impressive as it is (amounting to almost 900), must have been far greater at the time when, as is supposed, the use of the quilisma was universal for all melodies that employed more than five tones within an octave. In a good many items where quilismas are not found at present, their former location could be inferred (and the symbols themselves restored) by analogy with the items that contain them in similar passages. The method of making such inferences, however, is too complicated to be touched on here.

The total number of quilismas found in the 900 compositions referred to is 3100, of which 81.5 *per cent* are placed within minor thirds, 17 *per cent* within major thirds, and 1.5 *per cent* within perfect fourths. Since the possibility of the appearance of quilismas within major thirds and perfect fourths has already been accounted for (footnote 15 in Part I), we shall now confine ourselves solely to giving the statistics concerning the occurrence of these symbols within minor thirds. The latter intervals contain 2525 quilismas in all, distributed among 825 compositions. On the whole, the number of these quilismas in a single composition fluctuates between 1 and 20, and, in most cases, does not exceed half a dozen or so. The highest number, an exceptional one, is reached by the two Tracts *Qui habitat* and *Deus, Deus meus*, each containing as many as 21 quilismas, all on the note E.

It must be borne in mind that the quilisma does not necessarily fall on *all* the recurrences of the same note in a melody. But the writer takes it that, for the purposes of the present article, no more than a single occurrence of the quilisma on a note, even though the note appears without it more than once, is sufficient for considering this note as one of the *pièn*-tone determinants of the underlying pentatonic modal species. (The exceptions to the rule in the instances of modulation will be discussed separately.) Accordingly, in our further computations we will not only leave out of consideration all re-appearances of a note that has once borne the quilisma, but we will also completely disregard all the recurrences of the quilisma itself on the same note. Thus, in the above-mentioned Tracts, with their 21 quilismas each, we will say that this

<sup>34</sup> Given mostly in vulgar numbers.

symbol falls on a *single* note; and if we mention that the quilisma falls on two notes of a melody, these must be understood as two *different* notes, not as repetitions of the same note.

It will now be important to have realized that, whereas the pentatonic scale contains normally but two minor thirds, the diatonic scale contains *four* of these intervals, namely, A-C, B-D, D-F, and E-G. Hence it is evident that the quilismas of the pentatonic compositions which are supposed to have been adjusted to the diatonic scale were bound to fall, generally, on one or more of the notes B, C, E, F, which are found within these four minor thirds.

The vast majority of the 825 Gregorian items under examination—almost 69 *per cent*, to be more exact—have quilismas upon *one* of these four notes only. This is often due to the limited range of certain items that do not cover a full octave, as well as to the fact that, in many melodies of wider range, some of the minor thirds are never filled in at all. The distribution of quilismas among the four notes shows a striking unevenness. Thus, about 330 items have the quilisma exclusively on B; about 170 items on E; 30 on F; and 20 on C. This unevenness eliminates, evidently, any explanation that would attempt to account for the distribution of the quilisma in terms of mere chance, the only explanation that the "diatonic" theory of mediæval music can offer.

A natural answer to this enigmatic distribution is obtained, however, when one turns to the *pièn*-tone theory of the quilisma, and, particularly, to the observation made in the last section but one with regard to the practical use of the variously inflected *pièn*-tones in pre-diatonic music. There we have pointed out the preference ordinarily given to the notes E and B, as *pièn*-tones, in comparison with E-flat and B-flat. And now we notice the same preference standing out most prominently in the uneven distribution of the quilismas among the various scale-notes in Gregorian music. As our figures clearly indicate, by far the greatest number of quilismas fall on B and E, and the smallest number on F and C. It will be recalled that F and C are the notes to which the *pièn*-tones E-flat and B-flat were transposed, according to our theory, when the liturgical chants were adjusted to the post-Ptolemaic system.

These statistical data, which already swing the balance in favor of our hypothesis, are considerably reinforced when we look into the group of Gregorian compositions in which the quilismas fall upon *two* scale-notes in each item, one in the lower part of the octave, and the other in the upper. (Quilismas on two *adjacent* scale-notes will be discussed

later.) The group under consideration is much smaller than the one just commented on, representing about 17 *per cent* of the 825 items we are dealing with. It is obvious that, with pairs of adjacent quilismas excluded, the four standard "bearers" of the quilismas—B, C, E, F—can be paired in only four ways: B-E, B-F, C-F, and C-E. Of these, however, we find only the first three pairs actually bearing quilismas.<sup>35</sup>

The fact that the quilismas are not found on the pair C-E would be surprising to one who attempted to explain the distribution of the quilismas by mere chance. But it is perfectly natural in the light of our theory. In fact, the latter obtains additional support from it. In order to realize this, it is sufficient to glance at the tabulation of the fifteen pentatonic modal species on page 342, from which it instantly appears that among these alleged scalar bases of Gregorian music there is not a single one in which the two *pièn*-tones fall on the pair C-E. On the other hand, each of the remaining three pairs (B-E, B-F, C-F) serve as *pièn*-tones in as many as five pentatonic modal species. And these are precisely the pairs which, as already mentioned, actually bear quilismas in Gregorian melodies. We may add that these three pairs are used in the various items just as unevenly as were the four single notes, and with the same marked preference given to the *pièn*-tones B and E. This pair B-E is associated with quilismas in 118 Gregorian items, the pair B-F in 18, and the pair C-F in only 2.

Consequently, in about 86 *per cent* of the 825 Gregorian melodies (69 *per cent* for one group, and 17 *per cent* for another) the location of the quilismas accords generally with our theory concerning the characteristic behavior of *pièn*-tones. An overwhelming majority like this should satisfy the most skeptical mind, even if the location of the quilismas in all the remaining 14 *per cent* could not be reconciled with our hypothesis. However, as we shall presently see, no conflict arises even from the remaining group, in spite of the fact that it contains instances in which quilismas fall on the adjacent scale-tones B-C and E-F.

#### EFFECTS OF MODULATION

First, it must be noted that, while each of these two pairs is formed by adjacent scale-degrees, such degrees, when both are treated as

<sup>35</sup> The Gradual *Domine praevenisti* does not contradict our statement, for it contains the quilismas on the notes C and E in two widely separated parts of the chant; this is decidedly a modulating specimen, as the shifting from the B of the opening section to the B-flat of the remaining part unambiguously shows.

quilismas, are practically never used in a consecutive melodic progression. They appear ordinarily in different phrases or even different sections of a melody, and their occurrence in the same melody may therefore be easily explained as resulting simply from modulation. That modulation from one mode to another, within a single item, is a characteristic feature of plainsong, is commonly recognized. A number of modern scholars admit it to be a quite extensively used device. One, in fact, goes so far as to say that "no other music is so rich in modulation as Gregorian chant," and that "the [plainsong] melody is modulated at every turn."<sup>36</sup> In the light of these opinions, surely, 14 per cent, the figure allotted to items containing occasional modulation, is not larger than might be conservatively expected.

It is the variously distributed *pièn*-tones in the fifteen pentatonic modal species (cf. p. 342) that make it theoretically possible for quilismas to occur on adjacent scale-tones in a modulating melody. If, for instance, a melody modulates from a modal species with the *pièn*-tones on E-B to one having them on F-B, then quilismas are bound to fall on the notes E-F-B. Actually, among Gregorian melodies, we find 14 items in which the quilismas occur on the notes E-F-B. Again, a modulation from a modal species with the *pièn*-tones E-B to one with the *pièn*-tones C-F will cause the quilismas to fall on the notes E-F-B-C. There are 3 Gregorian melodies having quilismas on these four notes.

Other forms of modulation bring forth other combinations of notes bearing quilismas, and there are altogether as many as 16 such combinations. Almost half of them are found only once each in the whole body of Gregorian composition, and therefore ought to be considered as rare exceptions to the general rule. Some combinations, such as E-F and B-C, represent abbreviated forms of those alluded to above. There are a considerable number of Gregorian items (about 45) in which quilismas fall on A. These are apparently either partly or wholly transposed melodies, since an A, when it appears as the kind of quilisma we are discussing (*i.e.*, one within a minor third) must invariably be

<sup>36</sup> "Text Book of Gregorian Chant" by Dom Gregory Suñol (Desclée & Co., 1930), p. 37. In his "Treatise on the Gregorian Accompaniment" (1933), Henri Potiron says (p. 96) that "the most superficial examination of the Vatican edition of the Gradual reveals numerous cases of modal modulation." The views of the old Latin writers on this point are summarized by Frederick S. Andrews ("Medieval Modal Theory," Cornell University Thesis, 1935, p. 126), who states that, even though these writers "seldom acknowledged modulation as such, the pages of the *Scriptores* are filled with evidences of its constant presence, and the quoted titles, taken in connection with the monuments in notation, make its mechanism perfectly clear."

adjoined by an ordinary B-flat. Under these circumstances A represents in reality nothing but a *pièn*-tone E transposed a fourth upwards.

To modulation must also be attributed the fact that in the course of a composition the quilisma sometimes falls on a note which turns out to be the final. It is significant that this occurs most frequently in the Phrygian and Hypophrygian modes, in which modulations, and quite extensive ones, are particularly common.<sup>37</sup>

#### THE UNAVOIDABLE B-FLAT

While touching the problem of Gregorian modulation, we must offer at least a few comments upon the use of B-flat, an occasional reference to which has already been made. One may wonder how it could happen that this note was retained at all in the mediæval system after so much effort had been expended upon the "tone-saving device" described above. The answer is that in spite of this device there remained a certain group of melodies in which the B-flat could not be avoided under any conditions. In order to understand this point, we must return to the three tabulations under the headings *Form 1*, *Form 2*, and *Form 3* (p. 335).

It was mentioned in connection with these tabulations that, while at an early stage only one of the scalar groups is ordinarily used by "pentatonically minded people," all three forms are eventually introduced by them for various pieces of their music. We may now supplement this observation by stating that their next step is likely to consist in the use of more than one of these forms in a *single* piece of music.

It is quite evident that, since the five regular scale-tones are identical in all these three tabulations, the changes involved in the use of scales belonging to different groups in the same melody would concern the *pièn*-tones only. Hence, these changes could be considered as modulations only in a very limited sense.

The use of various pentatonic scales in a single piece of music—it would be a fairly well formed melody at this stage—would naturally be more or less discreet and orderly, the most probable scale combinations being those which could maintain a certain unity through a community of *pièn*-tones. Thus *Forms 1* and 3, with a common *pièn*-tone E, and *Forms 2* and 3, with a common *pièn*-tone B-flat, would make most likely

<sup>37</sup> According to Henri Potiron (*Op. cit.*, pp. 122, 129 ff.) the Phrygian mode moves entirely over the ground of the Hypomixolydian mode (to be discussed later), and nearly all Hypophrygian items borrow their characteristic intervals from, and practically cover the ground of, the Dorian and Hypolydian modes.



combinations. The following two extra groups—each, like the three fundamental groups tabulated earlier, containing five different modal species—will show plainly which notes would be used in a piece of music based on these two most probable scalar combinations.

*Forms 1 and 3 combined*

A—(B $\flat$ —B $\sharp$ )—C—D—(E)—F—G—a  
 C—D—(E)—F—G—a—(b $\flat$ —b $\sharp$ )—c  
 D—(E)—F—G—a—(b $\flat$ —b $\sharp$ )—c—d  
 F—G—a—(b $\flat$ —b $\sharp$ )—c—d—(e)—f  
 G—a—(b $\flat$ —b $\sharp$ )—c—d—(e)—f—g

*Forms 2 and 3 combined*

A—(B $\flat$ )—C—D—(E $\flat$ —E $\sharp$ )—F—G—a  
 C—D—(E $\flat$ —E $\sharp$ )—F—G—a—(b $\flat$ )—c  
 D—(E $\flat$ —E $\sharp$ )—F—G—a—(b $\flat$ )—c—d  
 F—G—a—(b $\flat$ )—c—d—(e $\flat$ —e $\sharp$ )—f  
 G—a—(b $\flat$ )—c—d—(e $\flat$ —e $\sharp$ )—f—g

It is immediately evident that no transposition of any sort will reduce the number of chromatically altered notes in the first of these two combined groups. As for the second group, however, one needs only to transpose it a perfect fifth up in order to reduce the number of its chromatics from two to one, and thereby to place automatically the entire group within the same tonal series as the preceding one. It is natural that, in their general tendency towards uniformity, the early ecclesiastical musicians should have availed themselves of this possibility. The result of this transposition will be better understood from the following re-tabulation of the lower group.

*Forms 2 and 3 combined and transposed*

E—(F)—G—a—(b $\flat$  or b $\sharp$ )—c—d—e  
 G—a—(b $\flat$  or b $\sharp$ )—c—d—e—(f)—g  
 a—(b $\flat$  or b $\sharp$ )—c—d—e—(f)—g—a'  
 c—d—e—(f)—g—a'—(b $\flat$ ' or b $\sharp$ ')—c'  
 d—e—(f)—g—a'—(b $\flat$ ' or b $\sharp$ ')—c'—d'

Comparison of this group with the one in which *Forms 1 and 3* are combined reveals the fact that the only difference between their modal species having the same tonal range consists in the dissimilar position

of one of their *pièn*-tones, represented by the note E in one instance, and by the note F in the other. The remaining two *pièn*-tones (or rather the two variants of the remaining *pièn*-tone) are identical in both groups, being represented by the notes B-flat and B.

Many obscure points in the history of mediæval music with reference to the *B-rotundum* and *B-quadratum* are immediately clarified in the light of our theory.

In the first place, the interpretation of these notes as *pièn*-tones explains their natural instability, as well as their resulting fluctuation in the course of a single melody, such as may be frequently observed in Gregorian music. It will be remembered that about one-third of the plainsong melodies contain both these notes in the same composition, and often in very close succession. The opinion held by some that, barring cases of transposition, B-flat should be looked upon, in general, as an exceptional note is thus overthrown. Neither are there any grounds for believing that B-natural is the more essential note of the two, when both are present in a Gregorian composition. Opinions to this effect are probably repercussions of traditional views held over since the earliest days of the Græco-Gregorian adjustment. Owing to the absence of the B-flat in the fundamental post-Ptolemaic system, melodies based on the "combined" modal species could not be reconciled with that system as neatly as could those that did not contain this note or were freed from it by means of the "tone-saving device" explained above. Hence, not only the B-flat itself, but even the melodies which could not avoid including it, must have been regarded at the time as "outsiders."<sup>38</sup>

In the second place, our theory enables us to explain why the Latin writers rigidly prohibited the use of the notes B-flat and B in direct succession.<sup>39</sup> We have already pointed out (p. 334) that such a succession would be basically unnatural in the *pentatonic* scale. To this we may now add that there is nothing in the make-up of *diatonic* tonality that would warrant considering the use of B-flat and B in direct succession as in any way unnatural, particularly in florid passages. The negative attitude of mediæval writers towards this practice becomes quite understandable, however, when we consider that the melodic materials they

<sup>38</sup> The interpretation of the B-flat as a "guest" by Aribio Scholasticus (XIth century) seems to be a reflection of these older views. See his *Musica* in Gerbert's *Scriptores*, II, p. 218, col. 2.

<sup>39</sup> In his *Dialogus de Musica*, Odo of Cluny (Xth century) brands the consecutive progression of these two notes as an "absurdity" (Gerbert's *Scriptores*, I, 268). Other writers condemn this progression almost as emphatically.

were dealing with (and, at an early period, their own "scale mentality" as well) were fundamentally pentatonic, and not diatonic.

In the third place, the mechanism of pentatonic scale-formation represents a natural background for the introduction of the B-flat as an essentially *musical* factor, in which capacity it was bound to appear prior to its use as a mere technical tool. In fact, the extant musical material itself tends to prove that the B-flat must have been used already in the earliest days of the Gregorian chant, when it could hardly yet have been needed for purely technical purposes. It is now generally admitted, for instance, that the avoidance of the tritone (normally effected with the aid of the B-flat) was not felt as something urgently desirable, if desirable at all, by early mediæval musicians.<sup>40</sup> And even this seemingly unexplainable tolerance finds a substantial *raison d'être*, when looked upon as a manifestation of an unadulterated "pentatonic psychology." One has but to realize that no tritone could ever occur within the series A-C-D-F-G, or any of its permutations, which represent the framework of the pentatonic scale. Therefore, at least one (sometimes both) of the tones which form this troubling interval is bound to be a *pièn*-tone in melodies having a pentatonic basis. It can hardly be doubted that the rather evanescent character of the *pièn*-tones, as well as their somewhat indistinct intonation was apt to weaken greatly whatever unpleasantness the tritone might create. This naturally rendered the problem of the *diabolus in musica* practically non-existent at the period when the basically pentatonic liturgical chants had not yet begun to suffer in any marked degree from the effects of "diatonization."

There are a few other aspects of the B-flat question, particularly in connection with certain peculiarities of modal modulation and local chromatic inflection, which acquire an entirely new meaning when regarded from the "pentatonic" viewpoint, but limitations of space do not permit us to discuss them here.

#### THE AUTHENTIC PLAGAL SYSTEMATIZATION

One more problem in connection with the important effects resulting from the operation of the *pièn*-tones remains to be discussed. It concerns the various elements more or less directly involved in the "authentic-plagal" systematization. The exact origin of this peculiar arrangement is not yet known, although its various aspects have been

<sup>40</sup> Henri Potiron claims, moreover, that the fairly close proximity of F and B, far from being avoided in many Gregorian melodies, seems in some cases to have been sought (*op. cit.*, p. 96).

most minutely studied. One finds a good deal of speculation with regard to its conspicuous "duality." But all that can be traced historically, in this connection, is a certain outward resemblance between the mediæval subjugation of the four plagal to the four authentic modes and the purely nominal dependence, in the post-Ptolemaic system, of the four modes whose names carry the prefixes *hypo* and *hyper*, upon the remaining four whose names carry none.

This Greek "duality," even though but a nominal one, should perhaps be emphasized more strongly than it usually is, as a factor that was largely responsible for the actual mediæval subjugation referred to. For every practical hint that would foster system or symmetry was woefully needed, and must have been especially welcome during the period of oral transmission. Every such hint must have greatly facilitated the task of orientation in the mass of complicated tonal material. And, quite evidently, it must have been much easier to handle and remember four *pairs* of scales than eight independent ones.

Except for this similarity, however, students of mediæval theory have found virtually nothing in the post-Ptolemaic or any other Greek system that could give them a clue to the origin of many important traits which were new in Gregorian modality. Among the latter are the somewhat mystifying distribution of the dominants, as well as the suspiciously regular position of the finals; the characteristic division of the notes within an octave into two interlocking groupings covering respectively a fourth and a fifth—a result of the alleged interdependence between the finals of the authentic and plagal modes; also, the somewhat uncertain position of the dominant in the Phrygian mode.

Clearly, some unknown but very powerful factor must have been at work behind this new alignment of the basic modal elements in the mediæval system. What can this factor have been? In seeking an answer, it will be worth while to inquire to what extent pentatonic formations may have been responsible for the differences between the post-Ptolemaic and the Gregorian systematizations, and what our theory may offer towards disclosing the connecting link between them.

That the post-Ptolemaic system should be regarded generally as a prototype of the Gregorian system is evident. That the characteristic modal nomenclature of the former was instrumental in shaping the "dual" arrangement of the latter is probable. One more feature in which it may be possible to trace a partial influence of one upon the other is the position of the dominants, at least in some of the mediæval modes.

It is believed by some, perhaps not without reason, that while there is no evidence of the existence of finals in the post-Ptolemaic system (or at least of any recognition of them as such), the dominants already had a definite place in it, occupying the fifth degree in each mode.<sup>41</sup> Turning to the mediæval modes, we find that four of them—the authentic—likewise originally had their dominants placed on the fifth.

The parallels between the positions of some of the late Greek and Gregorian dominants are thus quite apparent, but the writer would not insist that they are necessarily due to a direct borrowing on the part of mediæval musicians. At any rate, there would be no risk in asserting that the latter arrived independently at the idea of placing the dominant on the fifth degree of a scale, should the existence of this practice among the Greeks, or their influence in this respect, be found doubtful. There are good and evident acoustical grounds for the appearance of the dominant on the fifth degree, provided it forms the interval of a perfect fifth with the lowest tone. The latter, on similar grounds, may be said to represent a natural resting point—the natural final, so to speak—whether or not it is consciously recognized as such.

While taking acoustical factors into consideration in the problem of the dominant-final relationship, we realize perfectly that, influential as they are in various musical phenomena, they should never be over-emphasized in theoretical speculations. They are highly important, but by no means conclusive. Many other factors—musical and extra-musical—must often be taken into account, even if they run against strictly acoustical considerations. Thus, from a purely musical viewpoint, it is not at all compulsory that the dominant should occur on the fifth degree of a scale, and the final on the first, even though they do so occur in a great many instances. Neither is it necessary that all melodies without exception should revolve around some definite "dwelling-points," even though most melodies do. But with these reservations it is safe to presume that, if no factors of a non-acoustical nature interfere, and there is any feeling for dominants and finals at all in a given form of music, this feeling is most likely to affect the fifth and first degrees of the scale.

There is also the factor of purely vocal potentialities. With the exception of a whole step, the fifth is probably the most singable of all intervals.

<sup>41</sup> According to W. H. Frere (Grove's Dictionary, III, 476), who draws on Bryennius, the XIVth-century Byzantine writer and codifier of still earlier views, the dominants of the post-Ptolemaic system were derived from the ancient concept of the *Mese*, which occupied the fourth degree of the scale. An extra note (*Proslambanomenos*), added to the lower end of each of Ptolemy's modes by his successors, automatically transformed the fourth degree into the fifth.

Viewed from the angle of the dominant-final relationship, it is also the most practical interval, for it puts the dominant and the final in two different sections (halves) of the octave, and thus sets up a musically desirable balance between them. Any interval smaller than a fifth between the final and the dominant, even when not uncomfortable vocally, may upset this balance, unless both these "dwelling points" occupy a position at a sufficient distance from the lowest scale-note, and thus avoid being crowded within a single section of an octave.<sup>42</sup> On the other hand, the vocal, musical, and acoustical conditions would become less and less favorable, and would even involve a certain strain, with the gradual expansion of the interval beyond a perfect fifth. (There is only one instance of such expansion among all the Gregorian modes, and this one, as will be seen, is of comparatively late origin.) Taking all these facts into consideration, we are perfectly warranted in saying that the fifth degree of a scale should be regarded, in general, as a normal dominant, and the first degree as a normal final.

#### THE SHIFT OF DOMINANTS AND FINALS

Turning to the factors that may interfere with these normal positions of the dominant and final, we may make the following statement without any hesitation. Regardless of any acoustical consideration, neither of these "dwelling points" could ever fall on a tone that is not a regular scale-degree. Applied to our pentatonic formation this statement would imply that neither a dominant nor a final could ever fall on a *pièn*-tone.

Taking this as a guiding rule, let us inquire now in what way the characteristic distribution of *pièn*-tones may have affected the normal position of the dominants and finals in the process of mediæval systematization. Starting with the four modes that were eventually called authentic, we find (*cf.* 342) that in three of them—Dorian, Lydian, Mixolydian—the fifth degree (A, C, D) are absolutely free of *pièn*-tones in all their various pentatonic species. And it is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the Dorian, Lydian, and Mixolydian modes are the three authentics in which the dominant has preserved its position on the fifth degree to this day. (A *pièn*-tone could naturally never occupy the first degree, which, incidentally, serves as the final in each of the four authentic modes.)

<sup>42</sup> Intervals smaller than a fifth may also appropriately separate final and dominant if the melodies themselves do not go beyond the limits of a fourth or a fifth. Consideration of such melodies is, however, excluded from the present discussion.



As to the remaining authentic mode—the Phrygian—we notice that, while the fifth degree (the note B) is a regular scale-tone in one of the two pentatonic species, it is a *pièn*-tone in the other. It is therefore not surprising that, while mediæval theorists originally placed the dominant of the Phrygian mode on the fifth degree, just as they did that of the other authentic modes, they later became dissatisfied with this as an exclusive solution. They then tried shifting it to the adjacent sixth degree, C, which is not a *pièn*-tone in the second of the two pentatonic species. There, in fact, it became permanently fixed, in theory, probably owing to the greater number of Gregorian melodies based on the second species. This shift of the Phrygian dominant, which has perturbed many scholars, received official recognition only in the Xth or XIth century, that is, about three hundred years after the general completion of the authentic-plagal systematization. But it stands to reason that, as in all matters of this kind, the natural grounds for the introduction of this change must have been felt intuitively for a considerable period before their explicit recognition.<sup>48</sup>

And there is a sequel to this story. We are plainly told that after the move of the Phrygian dominant to the sixth degree had been definitely accepted in theory, it was by no means universally adhered to in actual practice. As a matter of fact, evidences of the frequent use of the older dominant, placed on the fifth degree, may still be readily observed in Gregorian music. All of which goes to show that, despite theoretical prescriptions, the mediæval musical instinct quite justly refused to recognize C as the *exclusive* Phrygian dominant. In practice, then, the dominant of the Phrygian mode fluctuated between the notes B and C, which are respectively a regular tone and a *pièn*-tone in one pentatonic variant, and the reverse in the other. This fluctuation of the Phrygian dominant and the location of the *pièn*-tones can thus hardly be called unrelated or merely coincident phenomena. In fact, the causal dependence of the one upon the other appears sufficiently obvious to require no further comment, at least in the present study.

The systematization of the four initial modes, including the arrangement of their dominants and finals, was on the whole a comparatively simple matter, particularly at the earlier stage. Certain complications began to arise, however, when mediæval musicians entered upon the task

<sup>48</sup> The shift of the Phrygian dominant from the fifth to the sixth degree must have been accompanied by a wholesale suppression of the quilisma on the note C in compositions that belong to this mode. The generally meager number of quilismas on C (singly, or in combination with F), to which we have referred above, should be perhaps partly ascribed to this fact.

of putting in order the remaining four modes, eventually called plagal. These complications have prompted the writer to penetrate further into the realm of purely speculative thought, in the attempt to offer a possible (but by no means final) solution—which follows—of this knottiest of all Gregorian problems.

First in the plagal group comes the Hypodorian mode.

In the first of the three pentatonic species adjusted to it (see the tabulation on p. 342) the fifth degree (E) was a *pièn*-tone, and the dominant therefore tended to veer away from it. In practice, mediæval musicians found that the dominant was inclined to settle on the adjacent note F, and it was there that they consequently fixed it. (The reader may keep in mind, for future reference, that, once a dominant deviated from its normal position on the fifth degree of a scale, it might occupy either the sixth or seventh degree, neither of these points having had any natural advantage over the other, since each, together with the lowest note, formed an interval then considered dissonant.)

As for the other two species, their respective fifth degrees, unlike those of the first species, are not *pièn*-tones. But there was no need for the mediæval musician to make a single and exclusive choice of position for the dominant in all three species. For the dilemma could be easily solved with the aid of the B-flat which, as has been pointed out, already existed as a purely musical device in actual practice. Now the time had arrived for using it also as a technical weapon. In this capacity it made it possible to transpose these two species a perfect fourth up, producing the series D-E-(F)-G-a-(b $\flat$ )-c-d and D-(E)-F-G-a-(b $\flat$ )-c-d. With a special provision made for the "B-flat forms," these two series were automatically incorporated in the Dorian mode, in which they could preserve the original position of their normal dominants and finals on the fifth and first degrees respectively. Examples of the Dorian "B-flat forms" are abundant in the Gregorian repertoire.

A slight inconvenience had crept in, however, in the first species of the Hypodorian, with the somewhat extended interval (A-F) between the lowest tone and the dominant. It is clear that the attitude towards this presumably straining interval, at that period, must have been entirely different from the one which prevailed five hundred years later, when the shift of the Phrygian dominant to the note C (described on p. 355) produced the same interval, a minor sixth, between this note and the final, E. It will be remembered that, at the time of this latter shift, the Gregorian system was already long established. Any attempts to reduce the minor sixth E-C, while preserving the new Phrygian domi-

nant, would inevitably affect the status of the Phrygian final, and, with it, the entire symmetry of the system. However, a musician of the Xth or XIth century would probably prefer to endure the slight inconvenience entailed by the minor sixth, rather than make any changes in the position of the final, upon which particularly strong emphasis was put in contemporary theory and practice. Still less would he be willing to upset the much admired symmetry of the modal system which had been attained only with difficulty. And, above all, the strain involved in the minor sixth itself could not be so keenly felt now that the original importance of the dominant had greatly diminished, and the slackened pace of the rhythmically disfigured chant enormously facilitated the vocal rendition of the interval.

All these circumstances were absent in the Vth or VIth century, when mediæval musicians were still coping with the various problems pertaining to the adjustment of the plagal modes. One might expect, therefore, that efforts should have been made to avoid, in one way or another, the straining interval of the Hypodorian minor sixth (A-F). For at the time when the modal systematization was still in the making, with many important matters still unsettled, even slight inconveniences were not likely to be tolerated, especially when escape was easy and profitable.<sup>44</sup>

What, then, could be more simple and natural in this modal adjustment than to reduce the Hypodorian minor sixth (A-F) by using the note D as the final, instead of A? Let us recall that, to the quartal harmonic ear, the fourth degree of the seven-tone scale is the next most stable point after the prime. Therefore, when a mediæval musician, having a quartal ear, shifts his final from the prime to the fourth degree, he does virtually the same thing as the modern composer who, having a tertian ear, ends his melody on the third instead of the tonic. This substitution is so legitimate, musically, that the modern composer does not give it a thought. However, the mediæval musician, who employed this mechanism of "moving to the next stable point" intuitively in actual practice, was not able to recognize it for what it really was. Instead, he mistook this elementary procedure for something which it was not, and his mistake fatefully affected his entire theoretical outlook.

The fact that through the above substitution the Hypodorian mode

<sup>44</sup> Reasonable changes in scales with the purpose of avoiding certain vocal and other inconveniences are not foreign to modern practice either, as the chromatic raising of the seventh step in the harmonic minor mode, for instance, would indicate. And, as a matter of fact, changes of this sort usually occur in practice long before they are officially recognized and proclaimed by the theorists, whose lot is, normally, not to invent, but merely to legalize. This, of course, is true of many changes in mediæval music, including the one to which we refer.

suddenly acquired the same final as the Dorian—a matter of mere coincidence, as we contend—must have immediately strengthened the old suspicion of the mediæval systematizer about the dependence of the former upon the latter. This dependence had no real existence, however, and was suggested to him initially by the purely *nominal* derivation of one mode from another, as we have already pointed out. Nevertheless, encouraged by the coincidence of the finals, he turned his flimsy suspicion into a real dogma, and embodied it, as such, in the terms “authentic” and “plagal,” which he promptly attached to the Dorian and Hypodorian modes respectively. The attractive idea of domination and subordination, implied by these two appellations, was warmly seized upon by the mediæval theorist, and perhaps from this first appearance became for him a guiding principle in the entire process of modal systematization.<sup>45</sup>

The natural tendencies of the dominant and the final in the Hypophrygian mode, which must come next in our analysis, seemed to this theorist to corroborate his “discovery” with regard to the authentic-plagal interrelation. For, since the fifth degree (F) of this mode was a *pièn*-tone (aside from the fact that it formed a discord with the prime), the dominant was bound to fall on some other note. In this instance, it happened to fall on the seventh degree, A. The too large interval between it and the lowest note of the mode naturally drew the final from its original position on B to the “next stable point” a fourth above. Thus, by bringing the Hypophrygian final up to E, already in use as the Phrygian final, another modal “subjugation” was achieved.

Having arrived, then, at the Hypolydian mode, the mediæval systematizer faced, for the first time, a situation which did not lend itself too readily to his idea of inter-modal domination and subordination. Both pentatonic species adjusted to this mode were free from *pièn*-tones on their respective fifth degrees, and therefore did not require any shifts of the dominants from their normal positions. Thus, in turn, there was no necessity for shifting their finals to the fourth degree above the lowest note of the mode, and thus the law of “subjugation” illustrated in the two foregoing plagals was alarmingly defied. To give up the already adopted principle of the authentic-plagal symmetry, in view of this single obstacle, would have been unthinkable at the time. On the

<sup>45</sup> At a later date, and in a form entirely compatible with his surname, Aribio Scholasticus (d. 1078) symbolically “consecrated” this interrelation between the authentic and the plagals by saying that “the former represent the masculine sphere of influence, and the latter the feminine, in a certain marriage relation between the two” (F. S. Andrews, *Op. cit.*, p. 70).

other hand, to disregard completely the natural properties of the Hypolydian mode would have been disastrous for the melodies based on it. In this situation a compromise was indicated, the more strongly since it could be reached without any material sacrifice.

Like two of the pentatonic species of the Hypodorian group, the two pentatonic species of the Hypolydian mode were obviously transposed, with the aid of the B-flat, a fourth above their original location, and were incorporated in the Lydian mode under the forms F-G-(a)-b $\flat$ -c-d-(e)-f and F-G-a-(b $\flat$ )-c-d-(e)-f. (The extant Gregorian material affords ample evidence that this transposition actually took place.) In this way, the two pentatonic species in question were able to preserve the original position of their dominants and finals, which now fell on the same degrees as those of the regular Lydian (without B-flat).

The transposition of these two species obviously left a sort of "vacuum" where the Hypolydian mode had been, a vacuum which the mediæval theorist was now free to "fill in" as he saw fit. And he did not fail to avail himself of this opportunity. In fact, he placed in this vacuum a modal construction identical in range with the original two species, and made it fully conform to the other plagals, so far as their "subjugation" to the finals of the authentics is concerned. Thus, the final of the Hypolydian mode was theoretically shifted from the original C to the "next stable point" a fourth above, which fell on the same note as the final of the Lydian mode, F. And the closeness of this newly placed final to the note G, originally the Hypolydian dominant, made it necessary to shift the latter to another point, the adjacent note, A, being chosen. The shifting of the final first, and the dominant afterwards, reversed the procedure followed for the other two plagals.

#### THE EIGHT-MODE SYMMETRY

The above arrangement, which covered the seven basic divisions of the post-Ptolemaic system, did not, however, fully realize the mediæval concept of authentic-plagal interdependence. For the uneven number of these divisions left one of the authentic modes—the Mixolydian—without a corresponding plagal. On the other hand, the system included an extra mode—the Hypermixolydian—which merely duplicated the Hypodorian in the upper octave, and was of no practical use (see pp. 339-340). Both these deficiencies called for some reasonable solution. The mediæval theorist killed two birds with one stone: he brought the

"useless" *Hypermixolydian* mode into line with the rest of the plagals by transforming it into a *Hypomixolydian* mode. In other words, he placed the mode a fourth below the authentic Mixolydian (a fifth below the original *Hypermixolydian*) and, to qualify it for its position, substituted a major sixth for the minor sixth. The tonal series then became D-E-F-G-a-b-c-d.<sup>46</sup>

Instead of duplicating the Hypodorian mode in the upper octave, the new Hypomixolydian mode now duplicated the Dorian. But there was a radical difference between the two, since the final of the Hypomixolydian mode was shifted artificially to the "next stable point," a fourth above, the final of the Mixolydian mode, to which authentic mode this plagal thus became "subjugated." In connection with this shift, the Hypomixolydian dominant had to be moved from the "normal" position on A (too close to the new final) to some other point, the choice falling on C.

With this frankly artificial adjustment of the "extra" post-Ptolemaic mode, and the semi-artificial adaptation of the Hypolydian mode, the mediæval theorist pretty well "rounded off" the Gregorian system. And it is worthy of note that, except in these two instances, he succeeded in making the greater part of that system comply reasonably well with the natural tendencies of the various pentatonic species adjusted to it. The often apparently anarchical behavior of the dominants, due to their natural and unregimented distribution, is quite explainable within the framework of the pentatonic (but not the diatonic) tonal system. All the original finals of the authentics were left untouched, and those of the plagals, even though in a sense "straight-jacketed," were shifted everywhere in a musically legitimate way to the "next stable point"—a fourth above their normal positions.<sup>47</sup> The mediæval musician doubtless

<sup>46</sup> The change of the name *Hypermixolydian* into *Hypomixolydian* does not seem to have occurred before the XIth century, or thereabouts, even though the actual replacement of the former mode by the latter had taken place at least three hundred years before, when it had already been known as the *plagius tetrardus*, aside from its original name. The prefix *hyper*, which lost its meaning with that replacement, was naively interpreted, during this intervening period, as referring to certain melodic characteristics of the eighth mode. See pseudo-Huchald's *Alia musica* in Gerbert's *Scriptores*, I, 138, col. 2, beginning with the sentence: *Ubi autem melodia, etc.* Although the date of this composite treatise is generally given as ca. 900, the section dealing with the systematization of the eight modes is doubtless of a much earlier origin. Cf. *Alia musica*, by Wilhelm Mühlmann, Leipzig, 1914, pp. 3, 47, 51, 68.

<sup>47</sup> That the finals of the plagal modes represent, in reality, substitutes for something more fundamental than themselves, has already been pointed out by Antoine Auda in his treatise *Les Modes et les tons de la musique et spécialement de la musique médiévale*, Bruxelles, 1930, p. 191. However, Auda's explanation of these four finals—he calls them "pseudo-tonics"—essentially differs from ours, and is based on certain acoustical speculations to which we cannot subscribe.



gradually got used to sensing these new locations of the finals as the "real" ones (with many melodies they were probably original), although they must often have created in him an impression of suspense similar to what we feel when our diatonic melodies end on the third degree of a scale, and not on the more "comfortable" tonic.<sup>48</sup>

In order to make perfectly clear all the changes described above, we must now resort to another tabulation of the Gregorian modes, which will demonstrate visually their authentic-plagal relationship, with all its characteristic implications, including the specific positions of the dominants and finals, as well as the few B-flat forms obtained so far. The dominants and finals are printed in heavy type. The Roman figures at the extreme left indicate the later mediæval nomenclature of the modes, equivalent to the "Greek" appellations.

- |                           |                                       |                                       |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
|                           | {                                     | <b>D</b> -(E)-F-G- <b>a</b> -(b)-c-d  |
|                           |                                       | <b>D</b> -E-(F)-G- <b>a</b> -b-(c)-d  |
| I. Dorian.....            |                                       | <b>D</b> -E-(F)-G- <b>a</b> -(b)-c-d  |
|                           |                                       | <b>D</b> -E-(F)-G- <b>a</b> -(bb)-c-d |
|                           |                                       | <b>D</b> -(E)-F-G- <b>a</b> -(bb)-c-d |
| II. Hypodorian..          | A-(B)-C- <b>D</b> -(E)- <b>F</b> -G-a |                                       |
| III. Phrygian.....        | {                                     | <b>E</b> -(F)-G-a-b-(c)-d-e           |
|                           |                                       | <b>E</b> -(F)-G-a-(b)-e-d-e           |
| IV. Hypophrygian...       | B-(C)-D- <b>E</b> -(F)-G-a-b          |                                       |
| V. Lydian.....            | {                                     | <b>F</b> -G-a-(b)-e-d-(e)-f           |
|                           |                                       | <b>F</b> -G-(a)-bb-e-d-(e)-f          |
|                           |                                       | <b>F</b> -G-a-(bb)-e-d-(e)-f          |
| VI. Hypolydian.....       | C-D-E- <b>F</b> -G-a-b-c              |                                       |
| VII. Mixolydian.....      | {                                     | <b>G</b> -a-(b)-c-d-(e)-f-g           |
|                           |                                       | <b>G</b> -a-b-(c)-d-e-(f)-g           |
|                           |                                       | <b>G</b> -a-(b)-c-d-e-(f)-g           |
| VIII. Hypomixolydian..... | D-E-F- <b>G</b> -a-b-e-d              |                                       |

Here certain scales are represented for the first time without the parentheses which we have used to distinguish *piè-n*-tones. The scales in

<sup>48</sup> Perhaps this feeling of suspense is responsible for the general conviction among mediæval writers (referred to by F. S. Andrews, *Op. cit.*, p. 181) that "the plagal forms are less ample and joyous than the authentic ones."

question—those for Modes VI and VIII—are thus tabulated since, according to our theory, they are artificial constructions. But, contrary to what one might expect from the actual Gregorian melodies composed in these modes, they are not without quilismas—the “indicators” of *piè-tones*. And in these modes just as in the others, the quilismas most often fall on the notes E and B. Baffling as this fact may appear at first, it is easily explained. For hardly anybody doubts at present that liturgical “composition” in the Middle Ages meant pre-eminently a more or less faithful re-adaptation of melodic material already at hand, rather than creation of brand new music. Hence it is quite natural that mediæval providers of music for the newly formed modes VI and VIII should have included, in their re-adaptations, the quilismas present in the material appropriated.<sup>49</sup>

The B-flat forms are found only in the Dorian and the Lydian groups of the above tabulation, but they were bound to be introduced also into other groups, as time went on. This must have been partly due to the use of the combined scale-forms with the unavoidable B-flat—the “guests” within almost every mode, as shown on p. 348 ff.—, and partly to modulations and transpositions, the latter being sometimes resorted to for vocal reasons. In view of this extensive and varied use of the B-flat, there was obviously no practical sense in making any distinctions among the eight modes with regard to its legitimacy. Thus there came about a further simplification of the Gregorian system, the discreet use

<sup>49</sup> One is somewhat puzzled to find that, while mode VI was very little used in liturgical music (as might be expected of an “artificially” constructed scale) there is a large number of Gregorian compositions associated with mode VIII. This should perhaps be explained by the fact that for a considerable time mode VIII was not clearly distinguished from mode VII—its “dominator”—and the melodic material of the one may have been largely assigned to the other for various reasons. The lack of a clear-cut differentiation between the two modes, at a certain period, is evident from the ancient musical formulae, commonly known as *Noneane tropes*, which were supposed to give full melodic characterizations of the eight Gregorian modes. These formulae, first mentioned by Aurelian of Réomé (IXth century) in his *Musica Disciplina*, are represented, in Dasia notation, in pseudo-Hucbald's *Commemoratio Brevis de Tonis et Psalmis Modulandis* (see both references in Gerbert's *Scriptores*, I, pp. 42, 216, 229). As one may easily learn from this notation, modes VII and VIII show an absolute identity in about two-thirds of their corresponding tropes, while practically no resemblance of any sort is found among all the remaining modes in this respect. Further evidence pointing to a certain lack of discrimination between these two modes is found in a passage in the XIth century *Musica* by Hermannus Contractus (see the edition of Leonard Ellinwood, publ. by the Eastman School, 1936, p. 60). Here the author condemns some older systematizers, who, among other “sins,” have sometimes placed mode VIII at the same location as mode VII. It will not be amiss to append, at this point, the data showing the percentage of items found in each of the eight modes on which the Gregorian repertoire is based: mode VI—5 per cent, mode V—8 per cent, mode III—9 per cent, mode VII—11 per cent, mode IV—12 per cent, mode II—12 per cent, mode I—20 per cent, and mode VIII—23 per cent.

of the B-flat being made optional for all the modes without exception. With this convenient admission, and with the problem of *pièn*-tones already solved through the use of the quilismas, each mode required no more than one tonal series, into which all its variants (with and without B-flat) were automatically merged. As a result, the Gregorian system took on the following aspect, which has remained unchanged to this day. (The optional flat applies to all B's in the table.)

	[b]	[b]
I. Dorian		D-E-F-G-a-b-c-d
II. Hypodorian	A-B-C-D-E-F-G-a	
III. Phrygian		E-F-G-a-b-e-d-e
IV. Hypophrygian	B-C-D-E-F-G-a-b	
V. Lydian		F-G-a-b-e-d-e-f
VI. Hypolydian	C-D-E-F-G-a-b-c	
VII. Mixolydian		G-a-b-c-d-e-f-g
VIII. Hypomixolydian	D-E-F-G-a-b-e-d	

As a result of this characteristic systematization came the now widely accepted theory of the interlocking species of fourth and fifth (or, rather, of tetrachord and pentachord) which allegedly lie at the foundation of Gregorian modality. According to this theory, the relationship between the authentics and plagals is based on the fact that the fourth is placed above the fifth in the former, and below it in the latter, while the fifth itself, with its lowest note as the final, is common to both. We must remember, however, that this is a purely incidental pattern, which *resulted* from the "paired" arrangement of Gregorian modes, but was never a force that took any part in bringing these modes to life. It would be just as logical (or, rather, illogical) to base the major-and-minor relationship of our modern diatonic modes upon a theory of interlocking species of third and sixth, if all our minor melodies happened to end on the third degree of the scale. Even upon the latter condition such a theory could hardly bring us anywhere near the proper conception of that relationship. Similarly, no proper conception of Gregorian modality can be obtained from the idea of the interlocking species of fourth and fifth. The fact that this idea gained favor principally with the *later* mediæval scholars, increasing as their feeling for the true nature of plainsong decreased, is in itself significant.

## NET RESULTS OF THE GRÆCO-GREGORIAN ADJUSTMENT

Having hypothetically traced the evolution of Gregorian modality, we may now estimate briefly the gains and losses which resulted from the age-long association of the Christian liturgical melodies with the Greek post-Ptolemaic system.

We have assumed that the initial contact was made with the purpose of reducing the general number of tones required by the scale-foundation of these melodies from *nine* to *seven* within the octave. The Greek system was thus supposed to serve early ecclesiastical musicians as a tone-saving device which, as we have pointed out, was merely a variation of other such devices not uncommon among people who use pentatonic scales in their music. It turned out eventually, however, that, owing to the unavoidability of the B-flat in certain instances, no less than eight tones within an octave would be required. Consequently, the Greek system could perform its "tone-saving" functions only in a limited way, and, of the two chromatics—B-flat and E-flat—avoid no more than one.

Of far greater importance proved to be the "mode-saving" capacities of this system, since they enabled mediæval musicians to compress the fifteen pentatonic species into seven (later eight) diatonic modes. The natural distinctions among these fifteen species were to be preserved with the aid of the quilisma, whose specific characteristics were deemed sufficient to guarantee that no confusion would ever arise. Knowing how different, musically and vocally, the quilisma was from the regular scale-notes, mediæval musicians could not expect that, in the long run, this ornamental figure would turn out to be absolutely unequal to the task entrusted to it. They could not foresee that the method of producing the quilisma would eventually be lost, while the symbol itself would be frequently suppressed by subsequent generations, and, where retained, be cavalierly treated even by the most exemplary interpreters of Gregorian chant. As we have aimed to demonstrate, however, it was owing largely to the fate of the quilisma that the diatonic system overstepped its rights, so to speak, and, originally a servant of the pentatonic liturgical melodies, strove to become their master.

The mere fact that the entire systematization of fundamentally *pentatonic* musical material proceeded nominally under the ægis of *diatonic* scales was already a dangerous precedent. Gradually and imperceptibly the diatonic idea crept into the minds of mediæval musicians as something inseparable from the melodies themselves. And the latter, even when frankly pentatonic, came to be looked upon as diatonic

melodies with the semitones accidentally "missing." A viewpoint like this was doubtless in no small way responsible for the lenient attitude of mediæval musicians toward the subversive forces (described in Part I of this article) that were at work obscuring the pentatonic features of the Gregorian airs. These forces and the resulting melodic changes were not resisted at the time, simply because they did not conflict with the diatonic idea inspired by the Greek system. In fact, any loss on the pentatonic side was a gain for this idea.

And yet Greek diatonicism was no more than an "idea" with the early mediæval musicians. Their inner tonal sense remained essentially pentatonic, despite all the influences and changes referred to. The various aspects of the authentic-plagal systematization, particularly the characteristic behavior of dominants and finals, and the unambiguous quartal principles rigidly (though not quite consciously) followed in early harmonic practice, may serve as the best proofs of that fact. Greek diatonicism remained no more than an "idea" even after the differences between the various pentatonic species adjusted to one diatonic mode had been erased as a result of the decay of the *quilisma*. For the actual Gregorian melodies based on these species most miraculously preserved the outstanding characteristics of their original pentatonicism.

It must be fully recognized that, useful as the diatonic idea may have been in the early days of plainsong, it ultimately created a good deal of confusion in the various phases of Gregorian music. As we have seen, this confusion caused no little harm even in mediæval times, but it had most fateful consequences at a much later period, when the basic problem of the proper harmonic background for Gregorian melodies came to the fore. In this particular field, confusion arose from the fact that, at the period to which we refer, the term "diatonic" had already come to imply *diatonic tonality*—a live foundation for diatonic music—and this, as we know, is organically connected with tertian harmony. In mediæval times, on the other hand, the very same term implied a sort of *diatonic scale-scheme* which served merely as a convenient working system for melodies sprung from *pentatonic tonality*, which (according to our theory) is organically connected with quartal harmony.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Somewhat similar to the diatonic working system for pentatonic melodies, but on a higher evolutionary plane, is the twelve-tone chromatic scale, occasionally offered in our own day as an all-inclusive system for melodies having various scalar bases, including the diatonic. All scales within the twelve-tone limit are regarded merely as "particular selections" of that general tonal structure. It is needless to add, however, that, should the chromatic scale ever be thus adopted as a universal working system, diatonic melodies would not become *musically* different from what they are at present.

The radical difference between these two conceptions has never been fully realized by modern musicians, and this is why the history of mediæval harmony has never been properly understood, or a satisfactory method of Gregorian harmonization found. These two problems are so deeply interrelated, however, that one cannot be solved without the other. It will be our next task to clear up these problems and to show how the ills, inflicted upon Gregorian chant as a result of long standing theoretical misconceptions, may be cured by the application of authentic, quartal harmonizations.

*(To be concluded in one of the 1938 issues)*



## VALENCIAN CROSS-ROADS<sup>1</sup>

By VIOLET ALFORD

V ALENCIA—a lovely name, in spite of memories of a once too popular tune—is a meeting-place of cultures. Cross-roads are always enticing; they spring surprises upon a wanderer, and upset nicely arranged, preconceived notions. The wanderer who writes this tale had no ready-made ideas however, and the country was, to her, entirely bereft of signposts. Coming, one might almost say fleeing, from Andalusia, she had been occupied with that great, still half Moorish province, and had left unread the secrets of the Levante coast of Spain, which looks not towards Africa, but to the ancient civilizations of Rome and Greece.

The first surprise was the sight of advertisements in the Catalan tongue, of Catalan names and notices, followed by the well-known sound of this terse, strong speech, grateful indeed to ears accustomed to the slurred, half-pronounced, indolent language of Andalusia. Then, from dawning perception to full realization, followed the discovery that the people who speak it are of the Catalan race, that their music and instruments are those of their Catalan brothers, that their popular calendar customs follow the same course, that the folk culture of the whole country is that of the great province to the north of them—with differences.

Some sort of comparative survey may be useful, and song will be the handiest subject with which to begin. In this art Catalonia is rich indeed. Even in its French extension, now the department of the Pyrénées Orientales, there are hundreds—perhaps thousands—of *Goigs*, "Joys," suitable for every occasion throughout the year. These songs of Joy are sung for the most part by companies of young men, and are used as *Chansons de Quête*, at the New Year, at Mid-Lent and before Easter, when they become the equivalent of English Pace-Egging songs, the singers improvising compliments and receiving eggs in return. Having first heard of them in the mountains, sung by shepherds on the Canigou,

<sup>1</sup> This article was half written when the Spanish Civil War broke out. Nevertheless I continued to write as though the old ways here described would endure. For tradition is stronger than war itself.—*The Author*.

and by boys at the high farms above the Tech valley, I was inclined to think of them as a Pyrenean type. My half-formed opinion was soon altered when I found well disciplined bodies of young men coming into Barcelona itself, to sing their *Goigs* in competition in the streets. They were the *Caramellas*, called after the little pipe which sometimes accompanies their singing, wearing the scarlet *barretina* of both French and Spanish Catalonia, and carrying giant spoons and forks as witnesses of their capacity for edible gifts. So little were the Joys a Pyrenean form that I now found them as far down the eastern coast as Alicante and Elche, where they are sung under African palms and an almost African sky.

A really Pyrenean type of greeting is the *albadá* or dawn song, for it belongs to French and Spanish slopes alike, to western valleys as to eastern. In the wild highlands of Aragon as in the lush green valleys of Ariège, the words of *albadás* are apt to be exceedingly free. In the Catalan mountains, taste is just as gross, but when this Pyrenean type reaches Valencia it becomes softened, possibly through meeting the culture of a more refined civilization. Instead of unequivocal demands to have the window opened, the young man addresses the following innocuous verse to his listening *senyoreta*.

Visanteta, my little girl,  
Don't throw water into the street,  
For your fiancé will pass by  
And will dirty his shoes.

## EX. I

## Albada or Morning Song

Vi - san - te - ta fil - la me - ua, no ti - res ai - gua alcar -  
rer no ti - res ai - gua alcar - rer por que pa - sa - rá el teu  
no - vio i se em - bru - ta - rá el cal - ser i se em - bru - ta - rá el cal - ser

From J. Inzenga, *Cantos y Bailes Populares de España*, Valencia.

There can be nothing secret about these visits at dawn, for the singer is accompanied by guitars and wood-wind instruments. Also, he throws squibs against the walls of the house to announce his arrival. Squibs of

astonishing power were the bane of my life in Valencia—they are heard from one morning to the next. So we need not be surprised that admirers of pure noise, using squibs to signal their presence before their ladies' balconies, should see fit to finish their love-songs with a prolonged *rellinch*, a piercing cry, said here to be inherited from the Moors; but in reality it is the Valencian form of the Pyrenean *hilhet*, which reaches from the Mediterranean to the Cantabrian coast and further, and which attains its most terrifying heights in the *irrintzina* of the Basques.

The gift of improvisation, often mentioned as a specialty of the Basques but actually shared by all Pyreneans, is used in Valencian *albadas* as well as in wedding songs and on other occasions. Two singers will hold a *coloqui* in verse, one answering the other, each *copla* capping the last in expressions of admiration of the listening damsel, the bride, or some notable person. Sometimes the verses will be in Catalan and Castilian alternately, sometimes bilingual, both languages appearing in the same verse. But it is to be feared that Castilian gains ground, for the burning desire for autonomy and consequent love of regional things, so strongly developed in Catalonia, hardly touches Valencia. There the old tongue is not much considered; and as the tongue grows silent, so the old costume, dance, and song slowly decay. Nowadays regionalism appears to nourish itself on the March fire festival. However, a small folk-lore and ethnological museum in the city of Valencia makes a nucleus for revival, and with the example of Catalonia's liberties and literature as an ever increasing influence, there is hope still for Valencian culture.

The true regional instruments are again of a Pyrenean type, and might as easily be in the hands of a Basque or Aragonese in some grim mountain village, as in those of a musician among the orange trees of the Huerta. They consist of a wide-mouthed pipe of strident quality, closely resembling the *gaita* of Navarre—which is a bagpipe without a bag—, and a small flat drum about twenty centimeters in diameter. These are the *donsaina* and the *tabalet* respectively. They are not played by one and the same musician, as are the old English pipe and tabor or the modern Catalan *flaviola* and drum, for the *donsaina* player is always accompanied by an attendant drummerboy. Alternating with the sound of these northern instruments we hear the thrum of southern guitar strings, and both North and South contribute also, in the most curious and interesting fashion, towards Valencian Jota dancing.

Guitarists and singers, their gayly striped blankets slung over one

shoulder, round skull caps upon their heads, legs in thick white stockings, feet in broad-laced *alpargatas*, take up their stand near the dancers, and in another spot the *donsaina* player with his attendant boy plant themselves, as though fearing contamination. Guitars play the usual stereotyped prelude of eight or twelve measures, repeated over and over again, until a high, thin tenor voice stabs through their thrumming and the *copla* singer elects to begin his verse quite at his own moment and at his own tempo. The insistent, reedy voice ceasing, the dance begins and continues for perhaps thirty-two measures, when a sudden paralysis attacks the agile feet, and into the pause bursts the ear-splitting sound of *donsaina* and drum. No voice can make headway against this sort of accompaniment, so a short—mercifully very short—section is given as instrumental music alone, followed by dance, guitars and dance, guitars and song, until the shattering turn comes round again. And so it keeps up, often until cockcrow—for Valencians apparently feel no need of sleep.

The alternating of northern and southern music is one of the surprises of the country. For here, in truth, do the breezes from Andalusia and Murcia not only meet Pyrenean winds, but actually blend with them. The *coplas* preserve the satirical twists of Basque, Aragonese, or Béarnais singers, and—a curious instance of racial memory—when these are directed against backsliders from village morals, after the manner of the Pyrenean *Charivari* (or “Rough Music,” as the musical punishment is called in England), the southern guitars are laid aside and northern pipe and drum alone called in.

The Jota dance, although not yet the furious and bounding form of Aragon, is shaking off Andalusian influence. With the foot agility of the north we see the women’s hip movements; one arm is fully raised, the other flexed so that the elbow protrudes further than the wrist, and there are other features also that accord with choreographical laws from south of the Sierra Morena. But all is done in a lesser degree, modestly instead of shamelessly, gracefully instead of vehemently: the hard angles, the equivocal motions, the passionate facial expression of Flamenco dancers, are entirely absent. The dress of the women helps the comparison in favor of Valencia. It is rich in material yet simple in cut, graceful, modest, and to my mind the loveliest in Spain. It is in a category by itself, uninfluenced by Catalanian—which is practically Pyrenean—costume, happily untouched by the gaudy, heavy and vulgar

cotton frills, the ludicrous upright flowers (as though standing up stiffly in a vase) on the heads of the southern gypsies.

### A JOTA JOURNEY

The wide-spread Jota, with its distinctive musical and choreographic form, has been much written of, and its origins much disputed. The name itself is interesting. "One jot or one tittle" sounds familiar to the ears of those who know their Bible, and the verse from the fifth chapter of St. Matthew, rendered into terse English by the most wonderful translators the world has known, runs like a wellworn proverb. The short, firm English "jot" has come to our language straight from *iota*, the name of the smallest letter in the Greek alphabet. But whether or not there is a connection between "Jota" and *iota* is not entirely clear. There is a tale claiming that the dance is named after Aben-Jot, a Moorish performer of the XIIIth century, of whom more presently. In Spain the unanimous opinion is that the home of the Jota is Aragon. The Aragonese glory in it, priding themselves on the originality of their regional possession, but like too many regionalists they do not look beyond their own borders. The Jota seems so exotic, heard and seen in the rocky fastnesses of Alto Aragon, that eyes and ears instinctively shrink. When it is borne in upon one that this is something alien, the question automatically arises: Whence did it come?

The answer seems simple and has natural geography and persistent tradition to back it. It came from Andalusia. And, if from Andalusia, it is likely to be ultimately of Moorish origin. Here, however, I tread on thin ice, for quite a controversy springs up at the very mention of Moorish music, and a wholly Andalusian birth is assigned to Andalusian song and dance more often than not. So far as the Jota goes, when I began to study the matter previous to visiting its Aragonese habitat, I found my ignorant opinion backed by one who knows better than I. Edouardo M. Torner, in his solid contribution on traditional Spanish song in "Folklore y Costumbres de España,"<sup>2</sup> gives good reason to believe that the Jota sprang from Andalusian songs of the *Fandango* type. He shows examples which to me seem convincing, and since the appearance of his article I myself have found a *Fandangillo* from Almería which is used for dancing, and which would serve any Aragonese Jota "fan."

<sup>2</sup> Vol. II, edited by Carreras y Candi, Barcelona, 1931.

## Ex. 2

## Fandanguillo de Almería

9 measures guitar



From a MS. lent by an Andalusian dancer.

If of Andalusian origin, then in all probability, as I have said, of Moorish origin. Of course, other opinions are heard, notably that of my friend Don Ricardo del Arco, author of the fullest and most admirable work on Aragon that can be desired.<sup>3</sup> He is, if he will excuse my saying so, much imbued with Celtiberianism, and is apt to see a Celtiberian origin, not only for stick and sword ceremonial dances, of which Aragon possesses splendid examples, but for the Jota also. He quotes Berrueta, who considers it wholly Spanish, without Oriental influence, and Julián Ribera<sup>4</sup> who, agreeing with Torner, believes it to have sprung from the primitive Arab school, which brings it back again to Andalusia. To help you judge for yourselves I recommend two excellent records:

Odéon, 182522. *Las Flores de Zaragoza*, a Jota sung by the celebrated Aragonese singer, José Otero;

Gramófono, AE. 3701. *Fandangos por Granadinos*, sung by Angelillo.

Under the heading of "Fandango type" come Malagueñas, Sevillanas, and other local dance-song forms; all are ornamented, syncopated (but in another way from Jazz syncopation), and are said to be—but most certainly are not always—in the diatonic scale. When listening to the

<sup>3</sup> "Aragon," published by V. Campo y Comp, Huesca, 1931.

<sup>4</sup> J. Ribera, "La Música de la Jota Aragonesa," Publicación del Instituto de Valencia, 1928.



Jota on the first of these records and to the Fandangos on the other, sweep from your consciousness all *fioriture*, and a family likeness will appear. Add the *fioriture* again and it will now strengthen. It appears also to the eye in the following illustrations, especially in numbers 3c and 3d where it cannot be gainsaid—as well as in 2 and 10.

## Ex. 3

## Malaguëna. Song section



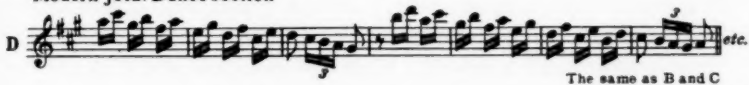
## Modern Jota. Song section



## Malaguëna



## Modern Jota. Dance section



It is amusing to find, in spite of the determined Aragonese belief in its indigenous birth, a popular Jota verse declaring precisely the opposite:

*Desde la orilla del Turia  
a la orilla del Jalón,  
vino cantando la Jota  
el desterrado Aben-jot.*

From the banks of the Turia  
To the banks of the Jalón,  
Singing the Jota came  
The exiled Aben-jot.

## And again:

*La Jota nació morisca  
y despues se hizo cristiana,  
y cristiana ha de morir,  
la Jota bilbilitana.*

The Jota was Moorish-born  
And afterwards turned Christian  
And Christian it must die,  
The Bilbilitana Jota.

## While Valencia itself declares roundly:

*La Jota nació en Valencia  
y de allí vino a Aragón,  
Calatayud fué su cuna  
a la orilla del Jalón.*

The Jota was Valencia-born  
And from there went to Aragon  
Calatayud was its cradle  
On the banks of the Jalón.

I have often insisted that, although confused and sometimes entirely false, oral traditions must on no account be neglected. Behind the smoke we must look for the proverbial fire. These traditional *coplas* do, I think, point the way by which the Fandango-Jota form travelled from South to North.

One of the Valencian cross-roads is a river-way—now called the Guadalaviar or Turia—which has been in use since prehistoric days. In Roman times this river, extending from Valencia city to Teruel in what is now southern Aragon, was already the Tchuria, Tzuria, or Turia. Later the Moors, continuing the name, called the people who lived upon its upper reaches *al-churri*, and today these people and all “them up-country folk” (as my Somerset cook says of a Gloucester family), are *Churros* to the men of the Huerta. To carry the ancient name right back into prehistoric times, it has been linked with *churi*, which in the present Basque tongue means “white” and may be of Iberian origin. A strong school holds that the Basques, if not actually Iberians, adopted the Iberian language. The Levante, or Mediterranean coast of Spain, is full of Iberian remains, as witness the great fortress of Saguntum, and the famous Lady of Elche. *Churi* might easily have been chosen to designate the Turia—today a white river, almost empty of water but full of white stones.

Immigrations and conquerors were apt to follow water, as did the Romans when they colonized the banks of the Ebro, and as—to return to the Jota—did also the exiled Aben-Jot. This poet and musician is said to have been a Valencian Moor, who lived and sang about 1169. His Jota-form—whether because of its music or verse, I do not know; or whether merely because a new form in these arts offended Koran-bound Mussulmans—was considered so pernicious that the composer had to flee his country, and wandered up the river-way to the Christian kingdom of Aragon. Had he followed the coast, we should now, I have no doubt, see a Catalan Jota instead of an Aragonese one. As it is, Catalonia holds to an entirely different type of dance and music. Its dance is made chiefly of simple figures such as occur in English and American country-dances, the men doing most of the work, the women following with demure, low steps, as they do all along the Pyrenean range. To be sure, some of these charming figures have become contaminated with Jota postures; but not enough to obscure their wholly different origin.<sup>5</sup> And with the Jota went costume—it is practically identical in Valencia and Teruel—

<sup>5</sup> See my *The Dance of the Gipsies in Catalonia* in the “Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society,” Vol. I, No. 3.

guitars, style, and southern feeling, all travelling together up the white river, so that today we find a curiously exotic influence in the farthest recesses of northern Aragon, while the southern parts of Catalonia, right on the Valencian borders, have repelled them. It is only since my sojourn in Valencia that the Jota mystery is cleared up in my mind.

When the somewhat mythical Aben-Jot and his composition arrived in Aragon, he and it appear to have settled down, and

*Calatayud fué su cuna.*

I think one of the reasons why it took root and became popular must have been the mode for Moorish things continuously affected by their Christian enemies. Moorish craftsmen were always being sent for to adorn Christian churches and the palaces of Christian kings; Arab horses fixed the race in Spain; Moorish learning was sought by unlearned Christians throughout Europe; and during the *Reconquista* a real furore for Moorish things of every sort ran like wildfire through the kingdoms of their conquerors. This fashion has left a mark which lasts today, when Spaniards from the farthest corners of the North and West, where never a Moor set foot, proclaim themselves of Moorish blood, and explain any and every old custom as "*una cosa de los Moros.*"

The Valencians themselves—drawing their livelihood, as they do, from past Moorish intelligence and industry—honestly consider themselves Moors by race, and point to the wonderful system of aqueducts and runnels bringing life to their orange groves, as the work of their own forefathers. Their belief—one of those false foundations for a tradition—bears fruit today in indifference to their own Catalan spirit, language, and culture. Even the Aragonese, as far north as their Pyrenean villages too, are obsessed by their supposed Moorish blood, and continue, with the enthusiasm we have seen, to profit from guitar, Jota, and Jota *copla*.

Let us now look at the verse brought hither by the Moor. Properly this should not be divorced from the dance; but in Aragon, at least, it is frequently heard alone in serenades, *albadas*, and love-songs. In Valencia it takes a simple form, the second line repeating the first, while in Aragon this line is again repeated at the end, so that we get it no less than three times. It should be noted that verses for Andalusian Seguidillas, Malagueñas, and so on, resemble Jota verses in their distribution of rhyme. Jota *coplas* are not "folk" but popular, and change, like Portuguese Fados, with the times.<sup>6</sup> Stereotyped verses exist, after the pattern of which the singer will improvise, and his own inventions

may be religious, political, satirical, or humorous. When they are satirical, their tone is biting; hopefully hidden doings are brutally sung aloud, small failings find pungent rhymes. The satirical Jota may be as pointed as you please, and is called *de pecaíllo*. But, above all, the verses are of love. A Valencian or Aragonese lover, accompanied by two guitarist friends, sings beneath his lady's window, and what he addresses to her is his best Jota repertoire. A most curious sight it is to come upon a group of this sort, appearing like a piece of statuary projecting from the wall in high relief. As an Andalusian lover stands in the street conversing *por la reja*, which is the ornamental window-grating, so the young Aragonese lounges against the wall in the dark, forcing out his voice and his verse, not knowing, unlike the more fortunate Andalusian, whether she to whom he sings is listening or not. If the lover cannot sing, he will pay someone to do it for him; and the correct accompanying instruments are, in Aragon, the *bandurria* (a metal-stringed banjo-shaped guitar), the guitar, the triangle, and the tambourine; in Valencia, the guitar, but, for satirical occasions, the *donsaina* and *tabalet*.

## Ex. 4

Portion of a typical, showy, modern Aragonese Jota, written for piano and voice, but with the guitar effect clearly suggested.

First, 64 measures of dance tune;  
then →

First system: Treble and bass staves showing the beginning of the dance tune.

Second system: Treble and bass staves continuing the dance tune. The word *rall* is written above the final measure of the bass staff.

Third system: Labeled *Copla*. Treble staff for voice, bass staff for piano accompaniment. Lyrics: La go-lon-dri-na á su ni-do el ri-o vuelve á su

<sup>6</sup> Cf., Rodney Gallop, "The Fado (The Portuguese Song of Fate)" in *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. XIX (1933), 199.



## A Jota from Anso

## Ex. 5



Noted by V. A. &amp; S. B.

Example 5 comes from Anso, where people walk about in the costume of Upper Aragon—and one wishes they would wash it oftener. The song says in English:

Those who go across the canal  
Are not only Anso people;  
Hecho girls go across

And cross and re-cross,  
Those who go across the canal.

The verses are local and may be classified as mildly satirical, being directed with a laugh against the girls of the next village who wait about on the bridge, with an eye on the young sparks of Anso. Hecho itself, an equally high hamlet with equally dirty clothes, has a much sharper barb to fling at these girls, whose complaisance is reputed only a little less than that of their Basque neighbors.

*No t'espantes muyto Emilia,  
si puyo por la ventana,  
ja m'en tornaré a bajar  
cuando a tu te de la gana.*

Don't alarm yourself Emilia,  
If I climb in at the window,  
I will turn round and get down  
Whenever you want me to.

Sometimes we find the spirit of *Cante Hondo*, the "deep song" of Andalusia, the song of the poverty-stricken, of the prisoner, and of the

occupants of those lurid streets of mysterious houses that open only at night. This *cri de cœur*, addressed to the great Virgin of the Pillar, sounds although it comes from Saragossa as deep as any "deep song" from Seville:

## Ex. 6

## Aragonese Jota

Ent-re el Ra-bel y la Car-cel — Ent-re el Ra-bel y la Car-cel  
cel Hay un puente que es de pied-ra — Ent-re el Ra-bel, puente y  
Car-cel — La Pa-tro-na de mi tier-ra — La Pa-tro-na de  
mi tier-ra — Ent-re la Ra-bel y la Car-cel

Noted by V. A. and S. B. from a Saragossa girl.

Between the Rabel and the Jail,  
Between the Rabel and the Jail,  
There is a stone bridge:  
Between the Rabel, bridge, and Jail,

The Patroness of my country [is],  
The Patroness of my country,  
Between the Rabel and the Jail.

In the softer, easier, sunshine of Valencia, Jotas take on a more innocent and happier tone. As acute in its local feeling as the little verse from Anso runs

## Ex. 7

## Valencian Jota

To-dos los que son de Lir-i-a — To-dos los que son de  
Lir-i-a — Can-tan la jo-ta Lir-i-an-a —  
yo co-mo soy de Va-len-ci-a — can-to la que me dá ga-na

This is a typical air and is used for several different *Coplas*. Note the extreme simplicity and compare with the Aragonese style. The same comment applies to No. 8.

Everybody who lives at Liria,  
Everybody who lives at Liria  
Sings the Lirian Jota.

But as I am from Valencia  
I sing whatever I please!



at  
lar,  
ng"



ar -



ey



de



girl.

],

more  
verse



de



with the



Jota del Carrer  
(The Street Jota)

Another, evidently composed by a disciplinarian, remarks

The girls always choose  
Men who are most manly,

For behind the bars of the window-grating  
Flowers open best.

While yet another in the Valencian tongue ends with that sly twist so typical of Pyrenean wit:

*la alegría borra el dolor  
i la mort borra la vida,  
i el matrimoni el amor.*

Happiness effaces sorrow  
And death effaces life,  
And marriage love.

As a final example of Valencian Jotas, I give a popular and much sung Jota del Carrer, or Street Jota, from Pedrell's collection.

### Ex. 8

#### Valencian Jota "del Carrer"

6 measures of guitar introduction

Los Ar-bo-les de Aran-juez

Los Ar-bo-les de Aran-juez un-i-dos de dos en dos

No tie-nen tan-ta fir-me-za co-mo te-ne-mos los dos

No tie-nen tan-ta fir-me-za co-mo te-ne-mos los dos

From Pedrell's *Cancionero Musical Popular*.

Besides the *serenadas* and *albadas*, sung Jotas are used in Aragon for the famous "rounds of the town." Two such rounds are perhaps worth describing.

The first especially left an impression on the person to whom it was directed. It was on the eve of a great feast in a little town up on a windy terrace of tableland. The musicians paid the foreign visitor the pretty compliment of singing beneath her window after the customary visits to the mayor, the priest, and other dignitaries. It will be difficult to forget the sudden burst of guitar music from a whole guitar band, which set vibrating the bitterly sharp mountain air of early dawn. After the well known stereotyped opening, there rose a strained tenor voice, forcing out its Jota *fioriture* in fine traditional style. A peep through the slatted shutter showed the listener a motor-lorry—where, alas, a bullock-

cart should have been—decked out with green boughs. In this arbor sat the white-clad guitarists, while the singer stood to be at ease—if, indeed, ease could be considered attainable by anyone using such forced, uncomfortable production. The words were indistinguishable but certainly complimentary. Possibly the musicians felt a little complimented too, for they knew the foreigner was there to study local ways, and Spaniards respond quickly and delightfully.

The second *ronda* was round a stony village and in daylight. The group strolled to the door of the church where festal Mass was in progress, and twanged their strings although the sound was quite audible within. Directly the parish priest came out, they followed him to his grey stone house and, pressing round the door, burst into the conventional opening. A youth of seventeen or so was the singer. He produced his voice in precisely the same strained way as did the serenader, and seemed to possess a large repertoire. His manner was *dégagé*, hands in pockets, and he indulged in singing all the *fioriture* he could imagine.

When the Jota is danced in Aragon, a singer begins and alternates verses with dance sections. The dance music is cheap and showy, though well rhythmized, and again the tunes are popular, not "folk." New ones are constantly being published and are on sale in Huesca and Saragossa. It is curious how inferior the dance music is to that of the *coplas*—but here again the strange production of the voice and the inimitable decorations add a flavor of their own which seems to enhance the value of what is, after all, but poor stuff. The dance itself is certainly decaying, but I am assured that, before one can judge it, one must see it at Calatayud, which is its "cradle," or at Saragossa on the nights of the great feast of the Virgin of the Pillar. Then, warmed by wine and excitement, hundreds dance in the streets all through the hot October nights, castanets clacking and rattling like mad.

Mindful of the contentions of Señor Torner and his school, we are in search of something to link this "Jota business" with its far-off Fandango ancestor. So we push on into the neighboring province, the old kingdom of Navarre, for we hear rumors of a Jota there also. Down near the Ebro, south of Pamplona, there it is, sure enough, and almost indistinguishable from its Aragonese relation, with guitars, *coplas*, and striped blankets over the players' shoulders, true to type. Navarre and Aragon were for long under one scepter, and cultural influences on their marches are very similar. Therefore it is no surprise to hear the same forced voices, to see the same steps and turns danced by string-soled

feet. Only as we go westward and northward do the voices take on a more natural tone, do the twirls of the dance become drier, neater, more finished. A well known collector, a Capuchin Father from Estella, in his notation and description of the *Baile de la Era*, deplores the last figure of this Basque ceremonial dance. It is, he says, nothing but a Jota, but "as everyone knows how to dance it" he refrains from giving directions. This solemn ceremony belongs exclusively to Estella and appears to be of great antiquity. Its name, indeed, takes one straight back to the Dionysiac chorus treading over the circular dancing-place before ever a Greek theater possessed a stage. For *Baile de la Era* means "Dance of the Threshing Floor." It is of the *Auresku* type, of grave ceremonial character, and it seems a pity that so slight, so vulgar a dance as the Jota should have worked its way into the traditional figures. The music of the Jota, however, proves to be a rather charming old air, as it breaks into the curious conglomeration of tunes blown into one's ears by the same *donsaina*—here called *gaita*—that we heard and shrank from in Valencia. The verse section runs thus:

## Ex. 9

Part of an old Jota now comprised in a Navarrese Ceremonial dance, *El Baile de la Era*



Collected and noted by Padre Olazaran de Estella

In a high district of the Navarrese mountains, the young people on their feast day perform a similar ceremonial dance named *Ingurutxo*, which belongs to the "Threshing Floor" and *Auresku* family. But the Jota has worked itself into this also, and the Capuchin collector recognizes its foreign origin. He says "The Ingurutxo should end after a circular figure round the *plaza*, but now continues with two other choreographic forms, which although much in vogue . . . do not appear to be characteristic [of the Basques]. These are the Fandango, a sort of Jota, and the Arin-Arin."

Dances of the *Auresku* family have been mentioned. Now comes the *Auresku* itself. When all the ceremonial fetching of the lady, the

dancing before her, the challenge, the bridge, and other traditional figures, have been gravely performed, the single-file chain unlinks itself and resolves itself into separate couples who all burst eagerly into the Fandango. I have described this dance from a—to me—never-to-be-forgotten scene, and in my account<sup>7</sup> I wrote that the Fandango concluded the true Basque dance in this manner as early as 1820. I can now put its intrusion at least fifty years farther back, for in 1777 a traveller saw it at Vitoria,<sup>8</sup> well dug in and already popular. Nevertheless, a hundred years later it was still the "*Fandango ó Jota aragonesa imitada*,"<sup>9</sup> as though the conservative Basques could not forgive its alien derivation.

They enjoyed their new acquisition, however, to such an extent that it speedily found its way across the frontier, and in 1809 the respectable Basque families of St. Jean-de-Luz were greatly upset by its introduction into their "honest bourgeois balls." A Parisian *Vaudeville* was composed that poked fun at the dismay of the little Basque town; and in *Le Procès du Fandango*, as it was called, we learn that the dancing-master, Gavotins, taught and demonstrated a sort of *gambade, pirouette*, figure, and attitude, which he named Fandango, and that this so mounted into the heads of the *jeunesse* that they indulged in "fallacious and insidious novelties, enough to fascinate all eyes, turn all heads, overheat the spirits, inflame all hearts."<sup>10</sup> And, as if this were not enough, "the said extravagant, monstrous, and ludicrous dance put decent spouses into imminent peril!"<sup>11</sup>

So there it is, the insidious and fallacious thing, firmly established on the French side of the Pyrenees, and in the opinion of foreign visitors *the* Basque dance, at which they stare with curiosity. The name "*Jota*" is forgotten and the *coplas* too, the accompanying music is pumped out by a rollicking, wheezing accordion or a decorous dance-band, in village place or Bayonne ballroom respectively.

So, having followed this other, this northern Fandango to its last stronghold, what have we found? Nothing more nor less than the "*Jota imitada*," minus guitars, with thumbs and fingers clacking in place of castanets, but the *Jota* all the same.

<sup>7</sup> Violet Alford, "The Ceremonial Dances of the Spanish Basques" in *The Musical Quarterly* for July, 1932.

<sup>8</sup> "M. P.," *Essais sur l'Espagne*, 1777, Vol. 2, Geneva.

<sup>9</sup> Don Miguel Rodríguez-Ferraz, *Los Vascongados*, 1873, Madrid.

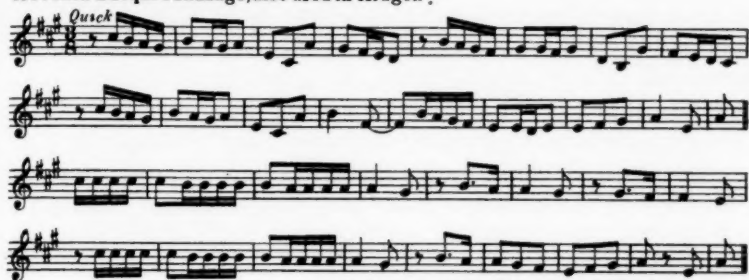
<sup>10</sup> Louis Batcave, in *Revista de Estudios Vascos* for December, 1917.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*



## Ex. 10

A French Basque Fandango, also used in Aragon.



Noted by V. A. & S. B. at Hendaye, Ainhoa, and other places.

When we glance back at our second musical illustration to compare it with a Basque Fandango tune, we perceive that dancers from Almería would have no difficulty in stepping to the Basque air, nor Basque dancers to that from Almería. So, at the two extremes of the Peninsula, here is the same musical form used for a dance called by the same name, and, with all apologies to Aragon, we must perforce consider that province a halting-place only, and not, as it maintains, the home of the Jota.

Extremes meet, they say, and if one follows a circle one arrives back at the starting point. We might pursue the Jota-Fandango into Cantabria and Leon, into Salamanca and Portugal,<sup>12</sup> and so continue until we meet it again, stamped out to encouraging cries of *olé,olé*, in the rock dwellings of Andalusian gypsies. But we have another way to go—the southern branch of the Valencian cross-roads.

## THE ROAD TO THE SOUTH

This route must be travelled with a true-born Valenciano, for foreigners never use it, and without the guidance of a son of the soil we should certainly lose our way.

So, all unknown to him, we accompany a young man who quietly lets himself out of a *barraca* standing at the very edge of a rice-field. Its walls are so white that, even in this darkness before dawn, its reflection wavers down in the black stagnation of the flooded ground. The young man follows a precarious path, slightly raised between two seas of underwater fields, and eventually finds firm footing on a road run-

<sup>12</sup> For its geographical distribution, see Violet Alford and Rodney Gallop, "The Traditional Dance," London, 1935.

ning north and south. The sound of waves comes to him through the quiet of the night, for now the real sea is on his left, the false sea from which springs the rice-crop on his right. He glances back at the lights of the city of Valencia, which crouches on its plain, only a few ancient towers and a few modern chimneys indicating its long, low shape; then he turns southwards. He must walk to a village railway station many kilometers along the coast, where his crawling third-class train will stop, for he cannot spare the extra pesetas needed for the *rapido* from the city. Our unwitting guide wears tight, dark trousers, a sash, dark blue and wide, and an ordinary dark *béret* on his head. His feet, free and sinewy, are in wide-laced string-soled shoes. But the bundle that swings from his hand hides better things. As he walks, freely and silently, he whistles and sings little airs such as this:

## EX. II

## Valencian Song



From J. Inzenga

This is not one of those popular Jotas everybody is singing, but an old country *canson* he has learned from other laborers in the rice fields.

As the sun comes up and turns stern, black spaces into gay, laughing ripples, he climbs into his garlic-reeking third-class carriage. It is crammed to overflowing, everyone is going home to the *fiesta*, everyone is offering his best from greasy packages or wine *porrons*. These last—delicately held six inches away to allow a trickle of good Alicante wine to lave dry throats—pass round, never touching the drinker's lips. The sun grows hotter and hotter, and presently—a very long presently—towards the end of an African afternoon, the train shakes out its load on to the sizzling track within sight of a gasping, baking village. Nobody minds. Already the squibs are exploding, and *bombas* blow up like small mines, bands are blazing, the *donsaina* is screeching, the *tabalet* rolling. *Fiesta* has begun.

Our young man has a home in the middle of the noise and heat, a dark little home of grey stone, as unlike the smartly whitewashed

*barraca* of the Huerta as it can be; and he has a mother inside, a worn, dark woman already in *fiesta* dress, all red and green, wearing a low comb in her hair and metal side-pieces inherited from a long line of Valencian mothers. She takes the bundle from her son's hand, undoes the knots, and out come a flowery waistcoat, a gaudy headkerchief, and a gayer sash. But from the cupboard comes a pile of pleated, white linen, too precious to go to "them up-country people" who live in thatched *barracas*. Shaken out tenderly, this resolves itself into enormously wide trousers, like the divided skirts women tennis-champions wore before they took to shorts, but a great deal longer. For this village is on the very borders of Murcia, where men, of both provinces alike, appear as though in spotless white petticoats.

When fully arrayed, our young man strolls round to the barber's where, although we are left outside, we can see everything that is going on, for the shop is wide open to the street. And the girls in gala dress who pass by with downcast eyes can see everything too, and in their hearts they pick their partners for the ball. Country people from still remoter villages drive in also, in the very last of the Catalan *tartanas*, before, a little further south, these vehicles give place to the covered carts of Murcia and Andalusia. Brown-faced, grey-eyed men, riding with long stirrup and straight leg, block the way with mules and donkeys all bedizened with red and white woollen bobs and tassels. When they mount they scramble up over the animal's tail like the Moors they believe themselves to be.

Now a tremendous outburst of squibs and gunfire announces that something special is beginning, and up the narrow, stifling street comes a company of men in would-be Moorish dress, turbans, shawls and home-made costumes. They are running and dancing in patterns, and when the crowd—which seems to know all about it—cries the name of a figure, the "Moors" immediately carry it out.

"*Caragol*," yells the audience, and the turbans obediently wind into a snail. "*Serpiente*," and a wavy snake-track comes into being. Now a company of "Christians" appears, dancing and running, twisting and figure-making under the orders of the crowd. Then more squibs, more firing. Turbans and Christians are squeezed out of the street by a stronger company, wild and disorderly, a contrast to the well-disciplined, well-rhythmed groups which have gone before. These men are mounted astride giant spoons and forks, like witches across broomsticks. They charge their queer steeds into the crowd, routing the women and pursu-

ing the girls. A tremendous uproar and a fine time ensue, until order is restored by still other dancing companies, nine in all, each bearing its own name—*Contrabandistas*, *Zuavos*, *Mosqueteros*, and so on. The men of the spoons and forks are *Estudiantes*, and their implements, like those of the Catalan singers, denote their good appetites and—so they told me—the poverty and hunger of the traditional student.

The Moors are divided into *Moros Viejos* and *Moros Marineros*, and here, far from the sea and with only a ditch to represent water, these last, arriving in boats on carts, fight a sea battle with their *Cristiano* enemies. Towards dawn the noise dies down a trifle—only a trifle—soon to break out anew. For three days and nights the mountain village is racked with firing and factions, with squibs and drums; there are “dying” men, and castles to be captured and recaptured; there are sallies by the Christians and challenges by the Ambassadors.

“War to the death!” cries a Moor.

“Santiago for Spain!” roar the Christians, employing quite naturally that ancient battle-cry.

They lose their *castel* about mid-day, and go home to dinner, knowing that the enemy will do likewise. Afterwards, strengthened by *paella*, wine, and sausage, they are enabled to retake it, and in triumph set up a giant “Mahoma,” which they insult and pelt. This Prophet-guy is stuffed with refuse, dead cats, live rats, horrors which somehow appeal to popular taste in the Peninsula. Fortunately he is finally set alight, and clean flames restore the village to its usual sub-hygienic state. They also restore amity between the combatants, who together sweep up the remains, and give them burial in a “cemetery” situated outside the house of the man who has subscribed most to the *fiesta*. A strange tribute to end a strange festival.

But it is not quite over yet, for now comes the turn of the three-day audience. With spirits unabated, each lad now takes his lass, and that insidious Jota intrudes again. Our young man somehow finds himself next a girl from the Huerta. Living down there on the plain, in the famous “garden” of rice and orange trees, he has perhaps lost his taste for his own rougher mountain girls. So, although his mother looks disapproving, he is always to be seen opposite the *forestera*, his castanets rattling and clacking in answer to hers. Together they dance the *Alicantina* and the classical Jota of their province called *El U i el Dos* (One and Two), in which the *donsaina* and drum come into their own, completely routing the guitar band. And then, after all, the girl

from the Huerta has to sit down abashed, for, when the *Parrandas* begin, she is nowhere at all beside the mountain girls, and our young man's mother relaxes her stern expression. Now her son is leaping, the pleated white trousers swirling out like a ballerina's tulle skirt, opposite a stalwart maiden who, in the very words of the English song,

Can leap as high as he.  
Oh, how they do twirl it,  
Spring it and swirl it  
Under the greenwood tree.

Only the greenwood is here represented by firs, Mediterranean broom, wild lavender and rosemary, all giving out their aromatic breath after hours of baking in the sunshine and crushing by the dancing feet.

To the last minute terrific rockets roar upwards, squibs pop everywhere, and wild explosions cause us and the earth to tremble. As much noise as possible must be made tonight—tomorrow *fiesta* will be over.

Donsaina air



## VIEWS AND REVIEWS

PROFESSOR JOHN A. LOMAX has enriched our knowledge of the feathered fauna of our land with his discovery and detailed description of the singing jailbird—*Captus cantor lomaxius*—, and a lusty warbler it is. Its habitat stretches throughout the states of the Union, but apparently it is most prevalent in the South. In color it varies between milk-chocolate and anthracite. Such migratory tendencies as it may show, are generally prompted by sudden impulses of flight which, however, are rarely crowned with success. Its nesting period is determined by the duration of brooding imposed by the nature of circumstances.

For several years now, Mr. Lomax has pursued his ornitho-musico-penological research and has tracked his bird in the penitentiaries of nine Southern states. He first reported on his findings, in 1934, in a volume entitled "American Ballads and Folk Songs." It was reviewed (January, 1935) in these pages, and certain shortcomings of it which, in the reviewer's opinion, diminished the potential value of the book were gently exposed. It is gratifying to record that this censure was evidently not without effect. In a recent publication ("Negro Folk Songs as Sung by Lead Belly"; New York, The Macmillan Co., 1936), Mr. Lomax has avoided the tumbling into musical pitfalls that marked his earlier venture, by having had recourse this time to the experience and skill of Dr. George Herzog, of Columbia University, in the transcribing upon paper of the bird's elusive notes. We have here a collection of Negroid "folk-tunes" that, in its visible presentation of the melodies, more closely approaches the actual rendition than has heretofore been the case. That this can absolutely and entirely "fixate" the inimitable rendition of the southern Negro, Dr. Herzog will be the last to pretend. But he has gone far in making it possible, even for the uninitiate, to "get the swing" of this music.

What this music represents, even our pundits can not wholly agree upon. With respect to the tunes contained in Professor Lomax's latest volume, Dr. Herzog says that "more than half of these melodies and texts have been published in other collections, in some other version. Others are of white parentage, some are white tunes pure and simple." This seems to us good judgment. Mr. Lomax would have us feel "pretty



sure" that the tunes he has gathered "are not precisely like other versions." But we are certain that "pretty sure" is not quite dependable enough a method for a scientific bird-catcher.

Once he had caught his prize-specimen, Mr. Lomax decided not only to tame it but to let the public in on this piece of domestication. How it began and how it ended, is the kernel of real interest in Mr. Lomax's latest story. We shall be able merely to give an outline here of what distinguished the most notable among the "charming vocalists" whom Mr. Lomax encountered in his visits to the great penitentiaries and convict farms of the South.

Let Mr. Lomax give you the exordium in his own words:

At Angola, Louisiana, the seat of the State Penitentiary, we found a Negro convict so skillful with his guitar and his strong baritone voice, that he had been made a "trusty" and kept around Camp "A" headquarters as laundryman, so as to be near at hand to sing and play for visitors. Huddie Ledbetter—called by his companions Lead Belly—was unique in knowing a very large number of tunes, all of which he sang effectively while he twanged his twelve-string guitar.

In essence, Mr. Lomax's collection consists of Mr. Lead Belly's vocal repertory, which is accompanied always by informative paragraphs of the collector's and often by some pithy or salty comment of the singer's. The whole is prefaced by the tale of Lead Belly's exploits, including those which brought him into conflict with the law, and by Mr. Lomax's entertaining account of the eventful six months during which he and his son Alan had Lead Belly for a travelling companion. Readers of this magazine have had occasion to become familiar with Mr. Lomax's enlivening style. He knows how to spin a colorful yarn.

Lead Belly was born, in 1885, near Mooringsport, Louisiana. At the age of fifteen, to the alarm and awe of the community, he achieved fatherhood. He had set his pace and he kept it. "At school he was the cock of the walk, always picking fights and, with his fierce strength and courage, usually turning up the winner." He inherited the Negro's love of music. A guitar, that his father had bought him, was his delight. Mr. Lomax, carried away by admiration for such precocious talents and virility, assures us that "certainly young Mozart was no more absorbed in music than young, black Huddie Ledbetter." Unfortunately for the world and Huddie, he did not have Leopold Mozart for father, or he might have landed in Carnegie Hall instead of in Angola prison.

Lead Belly's downfall was caused by soft eyes and hard liquor. The

red-light district of Shreveport "nearly killed him." He survived, and killed instead. On June 7, 1918, he entered the Texas penitentiary, the Shaw Prison Farm, convicted of murder and assault, and sentenced to thirty years of hard labor. Having served six years and seven months, he was pardoned by Governor Pat M. Neff. Once more he sought his old haunts and old friends, swaggered along Fannin Street, and made the air resound with his voice and guitar. It was to be but a short interlude. On February 28, 1930, he entered the Louisiana state penitentiary for a term of ten years, convicted of assault with intent to kill. It is here, in Angola prison, that Professor Lomax, in quest of material for the Archive of American Folksong in the Library of Congress, came upon Lead Belly. From him, Mr. Lomax secured about one hundred "folky" songs. Mr. Lomax entertains the belief that long confinement in prison cells keeps the singer of folk-songs from influences which tend to contaminate and pervert the "folky" strains and thus rob these songs of their authenticity. We do not hold to this theory.

That poets and singers can be rogues, is nothing new; nor need enforced seclusion forbid admittance to the Muse. She has a way of hoodwinking armed guards and slipping past turnkeys. She rejoins her chosen one on a prison cot as easily as under a silken canopy. Cast into a dungeon, "where neither lightning nor stormwind enters," François Villon continued to fashion his picturesque and eloquent verses, warning and beseeching the frail:

*Ne soyez donc de nostre confrairie,  
Mais priez Dieu que tous nous veuille absoudre.*

Paul Verlaine, smarting in a Belgian prison, wrote some of his most inspired and beautiful poems, tinged with bitterness and sweetness, with remorse and hope.

*Le ciel est par-dessus le toit,  
Si bleu, si calme!*

Only a patch, a small square of blue sky, visible between prison bars; but enough to awaken and nourish the old nostalgia for the serenity reputed to dwell in cerulean heights, for the peace of God, which passeth all understanding. Even Oscar Wilde, disgraced and incarcerated, rose to at least one excellent piece of poetry and some superlatively fine prose.

All of which should deceive no one into imagining for a moment that Mr. Huddie Ledbetter, alias Lead Belly, is in any form, shape, or

manner comparable to this trio of eminent and tragic culprit-poets. In Mr. Lomax's account of Lead Belly's Odyssey the note of tragedy is conspicuously missing. Tragedy invites pity. The tale of Lead Belly—intemperate, reckless, vicious black man—is curious but not affecting. His songs are blunt though often quaint; they seldom step out in more than pedestrian gait. Most of the time it is an egomaniac of inferior perceptivity and intelligence who is picking a good-humored brawl with fate and his own sins.

*I'd rather be dead an' in my grave,  
Than be here to be some woman's slave.*

*Train I'm ridin' in don' do no stoppin' here,  
Keep on ridin', find some woman to feel my care.*

*Some got six months, some got two an' three years,  
But they's so many good men got lifetime here.*

*Shorty George done been here an' gone,  
He's takin' all de women, leavin' de men alone.*

*Run here, Roberta, sit down on my knee,  
Got sumpin to tell an' dat's been worryin me.*

*You's a brown-skin woman, choc'late to the bone,  
An' you know good an' well I cain't leave you alone.*

Of "Roberta" Mr. Lomax says: "This call of a man after his 'rider' rings clear, like a rooster's crowing just before day." A very pretty comparison, except that we are getting our birds slightly mixed. Or are they all the same, as far as beak and talon are concerned?

Lead Belly's crowing and chirping and warbling have been faithfully recorded by Mr. Lomax and his son Alan with an instantaneous aluminum recording machine, the aluminum discs being deposited in the Library of Congress. Dr. Herzog transcribed words and melodies from these discs. And a painstaking job he has done. But Mr. Lomax was anxious to let the world know and appreciate Lead Belly not only from his records, but from his actual singing. The opportunity to do so came in the autumn of 1934, after Governor O. K. Allen had reprieved the convict. Mr. Lomax promptly seized it, with a courage and a spirit of adventure that would do credit to the most gallant explorer. The narrative of what occurred during the six months of this travelling association—especially in Mr. Lomax's incomparable telling—makes

capital reading. To pick a few plums from the cake can give no real taste of it.

With a certain amount of native shrewdness, Lead Belly himself seems to have put the idea into Mr. Lomax's head: "I'se subject to a parole, boss, an' I knows de Governor 'll be glad to turn me over to you if you will ask him. I ain't a bad niggah. Jes' got into trouble f'om drinkin' too much co'n whisky and gin, and de mens don't like me much because de womens like me an' my guitar pickin'. I'll drive yo' car, cook yo' meals, wash yo' clo'es, an' be yo' man as long as I live." Mr. Lomax succumbed to this beguiling prospect—which included the gratuitous unreeling of countless jingles to the twanging of a twelve-string guitar. The ultimate outcome was a sad rebuke to Mr. Lomax's kindness and optimism. But let us look at a few of the highlights which illumined the scene before final darkness fell upon it.

When Mr. Lomax set out on his journey, he did so apparently in a state of full realization of what he was doing:

Fate [we question the justice, here, of blaming it all on fatality] had chosen for my companion a Negro man whose mother had been a half-breed Cherokee Indian, his father an industrious and respected farmer. He had been twice a State convict, a county jail-bird and a jail-breaker, every charge against him having been for physical violence. He had killed two men of his own race. Others he had shot or carved with his knife. His own face was scarred with jagged lines from cuts. His last sentence had been for using his deadly knife. He still carried that knife. I was alone and unarmed. Finally, he was fond of drink. Later he told me, "I don' want no whiskey, but I got to have my gin."

Undismayed, Mr. Lomax challenged all risks to life and limb, in the interests of art and learning. The grand tour began from Mr. Lomax's home in Austin, Texas, through Arkansas. At the large prison farm of that state, near Pine Bluff, Lead Belly showed the first signs of restlessness and dissatisfaction. He greatly enjoyed, though, two visits to the women's convict camp, where a noisy how-de-do was made over him, and where records were obtained of a few songs from the singing of a bunch of lively young Negro girls. But he often voiced his easily explicable and growing disgust with "lookin' at niggahs in the peniten-shuh." He expressed the very natural wish to "go somewhere else." Mr. Lomax, with an over-indulgent regard for the demands of human urges, decided to take the road back to Shreveport and Fannin Street. There Lead Belly disappeared for two days and nights, and then cheerfully turned up again, as any straying tom-cat might do in certain

seasons of the year. Then the trek north continued, and so did Lead Belly's occasional presumptions on Mr. Lomax's easy-going temper. New York was the shining goal, with fame and money beckoning.

A foretaste of things-to-come was had in Philadelphia, where Lead Belly on December 30, 1934, entertained the members of the Modern Language Association of America at their annual smoker. The delighted listeners filled his hat with silver and dollar bills. When, that same night, Lead Belly was asked to sing before a group of Bryn Mawr intellectuals and he was driving the car into the college campus, he confided to Mr. Lomax: "Well, maybe dey don't know it, but dey is about to hear de famousest niggah guitar player in de world." It had taken very little to turn Lead Belly's dusky head.

After six thousand weary miles through Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, the District of Columbia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, the ex-convict Lead Belly drove triumphantly into the city of his dreams. Here no hotel or lodging house south of Harlem, so Mr. Lomax maintains, would take in Lead Belly. In Harlem, the Negro Y.M.C.A. would take Lead Belly, but not Mr. Lomax and his son. So the genial travellers had to part company and were obliged to seek separate domiciles.

It was not long before reporters and publicity-hounds got on the scent of a news-story that savored of the sensational. A charming and modest university professor from Austin, Texas, was hoisted to the giddy pinnacle of Manhattan head-lines, hailed as the discoverer of a rank criminal who could sing tender blues as well as blood-curdling ballads. He cleaved his way to the front page with a double-edged sword. No wonder that William Rose Benét wrote a full page ballad about Lead Belly and that the magazine "Time" printed his picture and the story of his career. No wonder that the president of a college cancelled a contract already made by its music department after he had read one of Lincoln Barnett's accounts emphasizing the shady side of poor Lead Belly's past.

There was a struggle between admiration and condemnation. It could have but one issue. Lead Belly, with Professor Lomax as master of unceremonious ceremonies, played and sang his so-called "folk-tunes" for a while before a great variety of people, ranging from crowds of Negro convicts to groups of polite and socially eligible miscreants. They all listened absorbedly, they applauded and filled his hat. The Associated

Press took him under its far-spreading wing; the radio gave him its precious "time" and felt rewarded at any price. For a fleeting moment Lead Belly became "a national figure."

The need of a female partner to share his couch and his glory came up again, more strongly than ever. The benign and yielding Mr. Lomax sent for Martha Promise, one of Lead Belly's Shreveport girls. The wedding—in an idyllic setting—took place at Wilton, Connecticut, whither the strange household had repaired in order to escape the dangerous temptations of the big city. In this rural atmosphere and "with this artist for a lover," Louisiana Martha "grew visibly plumper and prettier." But for the rest, things became steadily worse.

Before long, Mr. Lomax admits, Lead Belly's attitude towards him and his son Alan began gradually to change: he grudgingly consented to meet engagements that had been made for him; for days he would gruffly refuse to give of his songs or stories; he began to neglect his household duties; his demands for extra money and his consumption of gin grew apace.

A new tour—to Albany, Rochester, Buffalo, and Harvard University—was in contemplation. It did not progress farther than Buffalo, which proved to be Waterloo. Lead Belly's "concert" at the University Club there turned out a complete failure. The "charming vocalist" from Angola prison was "a changed Lead Belly," and not for the better. Mr. Lomax, sitting beside his ex-convict chauffeur, "became deathly sick," as well he might. His spectacular experiment in social reform of the unreformable had crashed on the rocks of disciplinary laxness and incompetence. A book-full of songs to market, and a bag-full of records to keep in our national library, were worth the disillusionment. But the sting of failure remained. Mr. Lomax goes so far as to say that "through our own mistakes in dealing with him," the cankered minstrel assumed the part of "an arrogant person, dressed in flashy clothes, a self-confident boaster." The last glimpse we catch of this incorrigible wastrel and his woman, is to see them depart, in a Greyhound bus, for their beloved and more congenial Shreveport.

No doubt, Professor Lomax will consider his harvest of "sinful songs" worth all the trouble he took in the reaping. Indeed, they furnished him with the material for a most diverting extravaganza in Negroid folklore. But a critical examination of this assortment of "hollers," of "reels," of "work songs," and the rest, can lead any unbiased judge to only one conclusion: that real gems of pure water, touched with



deep fervor and stark beauty, such as are found in such quantity among the Negro spirituals, were not in Huddie Ledbetter's repertory. Confinement and the chain-gang did not improve the native trend of his mind; freedom and the benefactions of Mr. Lomax could not alter his ways. It was not to be expected.

The effect of imprisonment on the true singer is more clearly shown in lines such as these, coming out of Reading Gaol:

*The vilest deeds like poison-weeds  
Bloom well in prison-air;  
'Tis only what is good in Man  
That wastes and withers there:  
Pale Anguish keeps the heavy gate  
And the Warder is Despair.*

Or let us recall this stanza penned in the prison at Mons:

*Qu'as tu fait, ô toi que voilà,  
Pleurant sans cesse,  
Qu'as tu fait, ô toi que voilà,  
De ta jeunesse?*

Then compare these outcries—wrung from a stained but contrite soul—with the ditties of the man Lead Belly, with his "characteristically American" [?!] song "Irene," which is all " 'bout a woman; she can love you to death, an' you can do her somepin' an' she hate you wussen she love you—"

But what is the use?

C. E.

# QUARTERLY BOOK-LIST

PREPARED BY EDWARD N. WATERS

## ENGLISH

### AMERICAN MUSICOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Twelve papers on various phases of musicology. Read at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, December 29, 1936, Chicago, Ill., held jointly with the Music Teachers National Association. 95 p, 8°. New York: The Society, Office of the Secretary, 1937.

### AMERICAN SOCIETY OF COMPOSERS, AUTHORS AND PUBLISHERS

Directory of composers, authors and publishers of musical works and of performing rights societies throughout the world, as of January 1, 1936. 385 p, 4°. New York: The Society, 1936.

### ARMITAGE, MERLE, *ed.*

Schoenberg. A symposium. New York: G. Schirmer, Inc.

### BACH, JOHN L.

Proposal for a nation-wide collection of American folk-music to be undertaken by the National Youth Administration. 23 l, 4°. Madison, Wis.: The Author, 1937. [Type-written.]

### BERLIOZ, HECTOR

The conductor. The theory of his art. Translated by John Broadhouse. 63 p, 12°. London: W. Reeves.

### BERNSTEIN, MARTIN

An introduction to music. 396 p, 12°. New York: Prentice-Hall.

### BIART, VICTOR

The symphonic guide; a series of descriptive and analytical pamphlets on great orchestral works. No. 5: Ludwig van Beethoven, Symphony No. 5, C minor. 24 p, 12°. New York: The Author, 1937.

### BOAS, GEORGE

A primer for critics. viii, 153 p, 8°. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937.

### BONAR, ELEANOR JEAN

A collection of ballads and popular songs. Iowan and Appalachian. (Diss., Univ. of Iowa.) 223 l, 4°. New York: Federal Theatre, Play Bureau, 1937. [Typewritten.]

### BOYD, CHARLES NEWELL

The Bach library at Berea, Ohio. (Reprinted from "The Diapason," Feb. 1, 1937.) 12 p, 8°. Pittsburgh: The Author, 1937.

### BRAWLEY, BENJAMIN

The Negro genius; a new appraisal of the achievement of the American Negro in literature and the fine arts. xiii, 366 p, 8°. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1937. [Important references to music and musicians.]

### BRITISH MUSEUM

Catalogue of music. Accessions. Part XL. 201 p, 4°. London: William Clowes and Sons, Ltd., 1936.

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Toward a new music; music and electricity. Translated from the Spanish by Herbert Weinstock. 180 p, 8°. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1937.

### CLAGHORN, CHARLES EUGENE

The Mocking Bird; the life and diary of its author, Sep. Winner. x, 65 p, 8°. Philadelphia: The Magee Press, 1937.

### CORTOT, ALFRED

Alfred Cortot's studies in musical interpretation. Set down by Jeanne Thieffry, translated by Robert Jaques. With a foreword by Alfred Cortot. 279 p, 8°. London: Harrap & Co., Ltd.

### COUSINS, M. E.

Music of Orient and Occident. Madras (India): B. G. Paul & Co., 1935.

### DAMON, S. FOSTER

Series of old American songs, reproduced in facsimile from original or early editions in the Harris Collection of American Poetry and Plays, Brown University. 4°. Providence, R. I.: Brown University Library, 1936.

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The American Indians and their music. 150 p, 8°. New York: The Woman's Press, 1936.

### DRESSEL, DETTMAR

Up and down the scale. 288 p, 8°. London: Selwyn and Blount, 1937.

**DVORAK, RAYMOND FRANCIS**

The band on parade. ix, 115 p, 8°. New York: Carl Fischer, Inc., 1937.

**FINCK, HERMANN**

My melodious memories. 304 p, 8°. London: Hutchinson & Co., Ltd.

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The story of music at Fisk University. 27 p, 8°. Nashville: Fisk University, 1936.

**FLOHERTY, JOHN JOSEPH**

On the air; the story of radio. 99 p, 4°. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., 1937.

**FOGERTY, ELSIE**

Rhythm. 245 p. London: Allen & Unwin.

**FOSS, HUBERT JAMES**

Music in my time. London: Rich & Cowan, Ltd. [Cheap ed.]

**FUNK, A.**

Tales from the operas (Knoch's Opera guide). Contains over two hundred and fifty descriptions of celebrated operas with short biographies of their composers. viii, 559 p, 8°. Vienna: W. J. Knoch, 1936. [Supplement, 26 p.]

**GALPIN, FRANCIS WILLIAM**

A text-book of European musical instruments. Their origin, history and character. 256 p, 8°. London: Williams & Norgate, Ltd.

**GANGOLY, O. C.**

Ragas and raginis; a pictorial and iconographic study of Indian musical modes based on original sources. Vol. 1: Text history of ragas, iconography, rāgmalā texts and criticism. Vol. 2: Plates, photographs and colour plates, representing typical examples derived from private and public collections in India, Europe and America. 2 vol, 4°. Calcutta: Clive Press, 1934.

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**HALL, LELAND**

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Immortal Franz. The life and loves of a genius. Translated from the Hungarian by Lynton Hudson. 486 p, 8°. New York: Frederick A. Stokes & Co., 1937. [Published in England as "Hungarian Melody."]

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**JACOB, ARCHIBALD**

Musical handwriting. With a preface by Sir Henry Wood. 109 p, 12°. London: Oxford University Press.

**JOHNSON, J. ROSAMOND**

Rolling along in song; a chronological survey of American Negro music, with eighty-seven arrangements of Negro songs, including ring-shouts, spirituals, work songs, plantation ballads, chain-gang, jail-house, and minstrel songs, street-cries, and blues. 224 p, 4°. New York: The Viking Press, 1937.

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Music in the air. Foreword by Dr. Walter Damrosch, introduction by Dr. Daniel Gregory Mason. xv, 436 p, 8°. New York: Garden City Publishing Co., Inc., 1937.

**LAMBERT, CONSTANT**

Music ho! A study of music in decline. London: Faber & Faber, Ltd., 1937. [Cheap ed.]

**LEXOVÁ, IRENA**

Ancient Egyptian dances. With drawings made from reproductions of ancient Egyptian originals of Milada Lexová. Translation by K. Haltmar. 84 p, 8°. Prague: Oriental Institute, 1935.

**LIGHTWOOD, JAMES THOMAS**

Samuel Wesley, musician. The story of his life. London: Epworth Press.

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The Negro and his music. 142 p, 8°. Washington, D. C.: The Associates in Negro Folk Education, 1936.
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Listening to music. Revised edition. xi, 301 p, 8°. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1937.
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The organs and bells of Westminster Abbey. 120 p, 4°. London: Novello & Co., Ltd., 1937.
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Fluctuation of forms of art (painting, sculpture, architecture, music, literature, and criticism). (Social and cultural dynamics, Vol. 1.) xxi, 745 p, 8°. New York: American Book Co., 1937.

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The technique of orchestral conducting. With a foreword by Dan Godfrey. 51 p. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd.

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General considerations for music directors in leading community programs. Community organization for leisure. Prepared in co-operation with Special Skills Division, Resettlement Administration. Serial No. 6. 8 l, 4°. Washington, D. C.: The Administration, 1936. [Mimeographed.]

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Studien zum musikalischen Schrifttum des 15. Jahrhunderts. Sonderabdruck aus dem "Archiv für Musikforschung," Jahrgang 1, Heft 1 und 2. 49 p, 4°. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1936.

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**BÖSKEN, FRANZ**

Musikgeschichte der Stadt Osnabrück. Die geistliche und weltliche Musik bis zum Beginne des 19. Jahrhunderts. xiv, 272 p, 8°. Regensburg: Pustet, 1937.

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Die musikalische Gemütsbewegung. Erlebnisse, Erkenntnisse, Bekenntnisse. 2. Auflage. x, 267 p, gr. 8°. Leipzig, Zürich: Heitz & Cie., 1937.

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Die Militärmusik. Ihr Werden und Wesen, ihre kulturelle und nationale Bedeutung. 224 p, 8°. Wolfenbüttel: Küster, 1937.

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**ALBENIZ, ISAAC**

*Tango in A minor, Op. 164, no. 2; Sérénade espagnole, Op. 181.* Ricardo Viñes, pf. Victor 4331.

**ANONYMOUS** (Catalonian, late XVIth or early XVIIth century)

*Missa pro defunctis: Introit; Gradual and Sanctus; Communion; Libera me; Kyrie eleison.* Choral Society of the University of Pennsylvania. unacc. con. Harl McDonald. Victor 14277-8.

**ARDEVOL, JOSE** (see *Roldan*)

**ARIOSTI, ATTILIO**

*Cantata: Pur al fin, gentil viola.* Lucille Dresskell, s; Miles Dresskell, vla. d'amore; Sally Knight, pf. The Friends of Recorded Music 8.

**BACH, C. P. E.**

*Sonata, piano, Wq. 56, G major.* Ernst Victor Wolff, pf. Musicraft 1012.

**BACH, J. C. F.**

*Quartet, strings, No. 1, E-flat major.* Perole Quartet. Musicraft 1003.

**BACH, J. S.** (See also *Mozart*)

*Cantata, secular, No. 6: Hört doch der sanften Flöten Chor; Cantata, secular, No. 8: Schafe können sicher weiden.* Ria Ginster, s; pf; fl. Gramophone DB 2815.

*Chorale preludes: Christum wir sollen loben schon; Christus, der uns selig macht; Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund; O Mensch, bewein' dein' Sünde gross; Christ lag in Todesbanden; Erschienen ist der herrliche Tag; Am Wasserflüssen Babylon; Jesus Christus, unser Heiland; O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig; Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele; Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier; Sei gegrüßet, Jesu gütig.* Albert Schweitzer, o. English Columbia, Bach Organ Society, Vol. 2.

*Chorale preludes: Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund; O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig.* Ralph Downes, o. de Brisay 8.

*Chorale preludes: Erstanden ist der heil'ge Christ; Alle Menschen müssen sterben; Heut' triumphiret Gottes Sohn; Jesus Christus, unser Heiland.* Ralph Downes, o. de Brisay 6.

*Concerto, 2 claviers, C major.* Artur Schnabel, pf; Karl Ulrich Schnabel, pf; London Sym. Orch. con Adrian Boult. English Gramophone DB 3041-3.

*Ich halte treulich still* (Schemelli's *Gesangbuch*). Reverse: *Gute Nacht*, Op. 59, No. 4; *Im Walde*, Op. 75, No. 7 (Schumann). Dresdner Kreuzchor. con. Rudolf Mauersberger. German Gramophone EG 3638.

*Italian Concerto; Preludes: no. 1, C major; no. 2, C major; no. 3, C minor; Fugue, C minor* (Little Preludes and Fugues). Wanda Landowska, hpschd. Victor 14232-3.

*Partita, clavier, no. 2, C minor.* Yella Pessl, hpschd. Columbia set X-74.

*Partita, clavier, no. 5, G major.* Ralph Kirkpatrick, hpschd. Musicraft 1004-5.

*Passacaglia, C minor* (Trans. Pochon). Stradivarius String Quartet. Columbia 68885-6D.

*Suites, orchestra, no. 3, D major, and no. 4, D major.* The Adolf Busch Chamber Players. con. Adolf Busch. Victor set M-339.

*Das wohltemperirte Clavier: Preludes and Fugues, nos. 35-43.* Edwin Fischer, pf. Victor set M-334.

**BACH, WILHELM FRIEDEMANN**

*Sonata, piano, no. 1, C major.* Ernst Victor Wolff, pf. Musicraft 1011.

**BEETHOVEN, LUDWIG VAN** (See also *Flagstad in Song*)

*Die Heiligenstaedter Testament.* Read by Elly Ney. *Sonata, piano, Op. 13* (Pathétique): *Adagio.* Elly Ney, pf. Gramophone DB 4460.

*Quartet, strings, Op. 18, no. 1, F major.* Calvet Quartet. Telefunken SK 2142-5.

*Quartet, strings, Op. 18, no. 4, C minor.* Lener Quartet. Columbia set 288.

*Quartet, strings, Op. 59, no. 2, E minor.* Budapest String Quartet. Victor set M-340.

*Quartet, strings, Op. 127, E-flat major.* Busch Quartet. English Gramophone DB 3044-8.

*Quartet, strings Op. 135, F major.* Lener Quartet. English Columbia LX 598-600.



*Quintet, strings, Op. 29, C major. Lener Quartet; William Primrose, vla. Columbia set 294.*

*Rondo, piano, Op. 51, no. 2, G major. Frederic Lamond, pf. German Gramophone EH 975.*

*Sonata, piano, Op. 13, C minor (Pathétique). Wilhelm Kempff, pf. Polydor 67113-4.*

*Sonata, piano, Op. 27, no. 2, C-sharp minor (Moonlight). Reverse: Minuet, Op. 14, no. 1, G major (Paderewski). Ignace Jan Paderewski, pf. English Gramophone DB 3123-4.*

*Sonata, piano, Op. 27, no. 2, C-sharp minor (Moonlight). Reverse: Étude de concert, no. 3, D-flat major (Liszt). Egon Petri, pf. English Columbia LX 602-3.*

*Sonata, piano, Op. 78, F-sharp major. Egon Petri, pf. Columbia 68939D.*

*Sonata, piano, Op. 110, A-flat major; 6 Variations on a theme of Paisiello (Nel cor più). Wilhelm Kempff, pf. Polydor 67088-90.*

*Symphony no. 2, D major, Op. 36. London Phil. Orch. con. Sir Thomas Beecham. English Columbia LX 586-9.*

*Symphony no. 8, F major, Op. 93. Boston Sym. Orch. con. Serge Koussevitzky. Victor set M-336.*

*Symphony no. 8, F major, Op. 93. Vienna Phil. Orch. con. Felix Weingartner. Columbia set 292.*

#### BELLINI, VINCENZO

*Norma: Casta Diva. Reverse: La Gioconda: Suicidio (Ponchielli). Gina Cigna, s; orch. Columbia 9127M.*

#### BERLIOZ, HECTOR

*Le Carnaval romain, Overture, Op. 9. London Phil. Orch. con. Sir Thomas Beecham. Columbia 68921D.*

*Roi Lear, Overture, Op. 4. Reverse: Prince Igor: Polovtsi March (Borodin). British Broadcasting Co. Sym. Orch. con. Adrian Boult. English Gramophone DB 3093-4.*

#### BIZET, GEORGES (See Meyerbeer)

#### BOCCHERINI, LUIGI

*Concerto, violoncello, B-flat major. Pablo Casals, vlc; London Sym. Orch. con. Sir Landon Ronald. English Gramophone DB 3056-8.*

*Quartet, strings, Op. 6, no. 1, D major; Quartet, strings, Op. 6, no. 3, E-flat major: Allegro con brio. Quartetto di Roma. German Gramophone DB 4462-3.*

*Sonata, violoncello, no. 6, A major: Adagio; Allegro. Maurice Maréchal, vlc; Maurice Fauré, pf. Columbia 68936D.*

#### BORODIN, ALEXANDER (See Berlioz)

#### BRAHMS, JOHANNES

*Intermezzo, Op. 119, no. 3, C major; Moment musical, Op. 94, no. 3, F minor (Schubert). Reverse: Waltz, Op. 64, no. 1, D-flat major; Prelude, Op. 28, no. 23, F major (Chopin). Walter Gieseking, pf. Columbia 17079D.*

*Symphony no. 3, F major, Op. 90. Vienna Phil. Orch. con. Bruno Walter. Victor set M-341.*

*Zigeunerlieder, Op. 103; An die Nachtigall, Op. 46, no. 4. Nancy Evans, c; Myers Fogg, pf. English Decca X 165-6.*

#### BÜSSER, HENRI

*Pièce de concert. Lily Laskine, h; orch. con. Henri Büsser. French Gramophone L 1030.*

#### BUXTEHUDE, DIETRICH

*O froehliche Stunden. Ethel Luening, s; Joseph Reilich, vln; Ralph Hersch, vln; Sterling Hunkins, vlc; Ernst Victor Wolff, hpschd. Musicraft 1009.*

*Prelude and Fugue, D minor. Ralph Downes, o. de Brisay 7.*

*Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied. Ethel Luening, s; Joseph Reilich, vln; Sterling Hunkins, vlc; Ernst Victor Wolff, hpschd. Musicraft 1008.*

#### CAIX D'HERVELOIS, LOUIS DE

*Prélude; Menuett; La Napolitaine. Sylvia Grümmer, vla. da Gamba; Bruno Hinze-Reinhold, pf. Polydor 10556.*

#### CATURLA, ALEJANDRO GARCIA (See Roldan)

#### CHABRIER, EMMANUEL (See also Duparc)

*L'île herreuse; Ballade des gros dindons. Pierre Bernac, t; Francis Poulenc, pf. French Gramophone DA 4892.*

*Villanelle des petits canards. Reverse: Lamento (Duparc). Jean Planel, t; orch. con. G. Briez. Pathé PG 79.*

#### CHOPIN, FREDERIC (See also Brahms)

*Mazurka, Op. 59, no. 3, F-sharp minor. Reverse: Toccata, Op. 7, C major (Schumann). Simon Barer, pf. Victor 14263.*

*Nocturne, Op. 27, no. 2, D-flat major; Nocturne, Op. 9, no. 2, E-flat major; Mazurka, Op. 33, no. 4, B minor; Mazurka, Op. 50, no. 2, A-flat major; Waltz, Op. 42, A-flat major; Waltz, Op. 64, no. 2, C-sharp minor; Prelude, Op. 28, no. 6, B minor; Prelude, Op. 28, no. 7, A major; Chant polonais, no. 1 (The Maiden's Wish) (Arr. Liszt). Moriz Rosenthal, pf. Victor set M-338.*

*Polonaise, Op. 53, A-flat major. Ignace Jan Paderewski, pf. English Gramophone DB 3134.*

#### COUPERIN, FRANÇOIS

*Leçons de ténèbres: 3<sup>e</sup> Leçon pour le Mercredi (Arr. Arthur Hoérée). M. Archimbaud, s; Mme. Wetchor, s; M. Derenne, t; M. Cuénod, t; Mme. M. de Lacour, hpschd; Mme. Bracquemond, o; M. Adriano, trumpet; Orchestre Féminin de Paris. con. Jane Evrard. French Gramophone DB 5010-1.*

#### CARISSIMI, GIACOMO (See Strauss)

#### CRIST, BAINBRIDGE (See Muzio—Song Recital)

#### DEBUSSY, CLAUDE (See also Muzio—Song Recital)

*Children's Corner Suite. Walter Gieseking, pf. English Columbia LX 597, LB 33.*

*Trois Chansons de France: La Grotte; Deux Rondels. Pierre Bernac, t; Francis Poulenc, pf. French Gramophone DA 4890.*

#### DELIBES, LÉO (See Muzio—Song Recital)

#### DELIUS, FREDERICK

*Sea drift. John Brownlee, bar; London Select Choir; London Phil. Orch. con. Sir Thomas Beecham. Fennimore and Gerda: Intermezzo; Over the Hills and Far away; In a Summer Garden. London Phil. Orch. con. Sir Thomas Beecham. Columbia set 290.*

#### DONAUDY, STEFANO (See Muzio—Song Recital)

#### DONIZETTI, GAETANO (See Mozart)

#### DOWLAND, JOHN (See Musique de la Renaissance)

#### DUKAS, PAUL

*L'Apprenti sorcier. Reverse: Shylock: Nocturne (Fauré). Orchestre de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire. con. Philippe Gaubert. French Columbia LFX 464-5.*

#### DUPARC, HENRI

*Lamento. Reverse: Villanelle des petits canards (Chabrier). Jean Planel, t; orch. con. G. Briez. Pathé PG 79.*

#### DUPHLY

*Les colombes. Reverse: Sarabande et Rondo (Jacquet de la Guerre). Pauline Aubert, hpschd. Pathé PAT 50.*

#### FAURÉ, GABRIEL

*La Bonne Chanson, Op. 61. Charles Panzéra, bar; Magdeleine Panzéra-Baillet, pf. French Gramophone DB 5020-2.*

*L'Horizon chimérique, Op. 113. Charles Panzéra, bar; Magdeleine Panzéra-Baillet, pf. French Gramophone DB 5009.*

*Impromptu, harp, Op. 86. Lily Laskine, h. Victor 12005.*

*Nocturne no. 6, Op. 63. Jean Doyen, pf. French Gramophone DB 5029.*

*Nocturne no. 6, Op. 63. Marguerite Long, pf. Columbia 68935D.*

*Noël, Op. 43, no. 1: En prière. Georges Thill, t. French Columbia LF 152.*

*Prison, Op. 83, no. 1; Jardin nocturne. Pierre Bernac, t; Francis Poulenc, pf. French Gramophone DA 4889.*

*Sérénade toscane, Op. 3, no. 2: Clair de lune, Op. 46, no. 2. Georges Thill, t; Maurice Fauré, pf. French Columbia LF 154.*

*Shylock: Nocturne. Reverse: L'Apprenti sorcier (side 3) (Dukas). Orchestre de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire. con. Philippe Gaubert. French Columbia LFX 465.*

#### FLAGSTAD IN SONG

*Im Kåhne, Op. 69, no. 3 (Grieg); Der Gynger en Båt på Bolge, Op. 69, no. 1 (Grieg); Ein Schwan, Op. 25, no. 2 (Grieg); Lys Nat, Op. 70, no. 3 (Grieg); Die Ehre Gottes aus der Natur, Op. 48, no. 4 (Beethoven); Ich liebe dich (Beethoven); Lykken Mellem to Mennesker (Alnæs); Et Håb, Op. 26, no. 1 (Grieg); Lullaby (Scott); When I have sung my Songs (Charles). Kirsten Flagstad, s; Edwin McArthur, pf. Victor set M-342.*

#### FOLKSONGS FROM GOWER

*The Gower Wassail Song; Young Henry Martin; The Gower Reel; The Sweet Primroses. Philip Tanner, folk-singer. unacc. English Columbia FB 1569-70.*

GRIEG, EDVARD (See *Flagstad in Song*.)

HANDEL, G. F.

*Concerti Grossi, Op. 6: nos. 4, 5, 6.* The Boyd Neel String Orchestra. con. Boyd Neel. English Decca X 125-31.

*Nell dolce dell' oblio.* Ethel Luening, s; Otto Luening, fl; Sterling Hunkins, vlc; Ernst Victor Wolff, hpschd. Musicraft 1010.  
*Semele: Where'er You Walk; Floridante: Caro amore.* John McCormack, t; orch. Victor 14305.

HAYDN, JOSEPH

*Quartets, strings: Op. 1, no. 6, C major; Op. 54, no. 3, E major; Op. 55, no. 1, A major; Op. 64, no. 4, G major.* Pro Arte Quartet. Haydn Quartet Society, Vol. VI. English Gramophone.

*Symphonies: No. 6, G major; No. 13, G major.* Vienna Phil. Orch. con. Bruno Walter. Danish Gramophone DB 1735-7.

*Symphony no. 102, B-flat major.* Boston Sym. Orch. con. Serge Koussevitzky. English Gramophone DB 3125-7.

HINDEMITH, PAUL

*Sonata, viola, Op. 25, no. 1.* Paul Hindemith, vla. unacc. Columbia 17083-4D, S17085D.

JACQUET DE LA GUERRE, ELISABETH

*Sarabande et Rondo.* Reverse: *Les Colombes* (Duphy). Pauline Aubert, hpschd. Pathé PAT 50.

KARTUN, LÉON

*Poème rapsodie pour Piano et Orchestre de Jazz.* Léon Kartun, pf; Orchestre de Jazz. con. M. Cariven. French Gramophone L 1031.

KILPENEN, YRJO

*Fjeld-Lieder.* Gerhard Hüsch, bar; Berlin State Opera Orch. con. Hans Udo Müller. Gramophone DA 1495-6.

KREISLER, FRITZ

*Quartet, strings, A minor.* Kreisler String Quartet. Victor set M-335.

LISSO, ORLANDO DI

*Mon cœur se recommande à vous; Au joli bois je m'en vais* (Tessier). Reverse: *Reveyez venir du printans* (Le Jeune). The Madrigal Singers. con. Lehman Engel. Columbia 4152M.

LE JEUNE, CLAUDE (See *Lasso*)

LISZT, FRANZ (See also *Beethoven*)

*Feux Follets; Sonetto del Petrarca no. 123.* Anatole Kitain, pf. Columbia 68780D.

LOEWE, KARL

*Das Erkennen, Op. 65, no. 2; Die Uhr, Op. 123, no. 3.* Heinrich Schlusnus, bar; Sebastian Peschko, pf. Polydor 35041.

*Die Uhr, Op. 123, no. 3; Tom der Reimer, Op. 135.* Franz Völker, t; Hans Altmann, pf. Polydor 57061.

MARX, JOSEPH

*Und gestern hat er mir Rosen gebracht; Venetianisches Wiegenlied.* Hedwig Jungkurth, s. German Gramophone EG 3795.

MENDELSSOHN, FELIX

*Midsummer Night's Dream: Nocturne; Wedding March.* London Phil. Orch. con. Sir Thomas Beecham. Columbia 68888D.

MEYERBEER, GIACOMO

*L'Africana: O Paradiso!* Reverse: *Carmen: Il fior che avevi a me tu dato* (Bizet). Enrico Caruso, t; orch. (re-recording) Victor 14234.

MIGOT, GEORGES

*Sabbat; La Sérénade.* Marcelle Gerar, s. unacc. French Polydore 561.109.

MILAN, LUIS (See *Musique de la Renaissance*)

MORLEY, THOMAS (See *Musique de la Renaissance*)

MOZART, W. A.

*Concerto, piano, K.271, E-flat major.* Walter Gieseking, pf; Berlin State Opera Orch. con. Hans Rosbaud. Columbia set 291.

*Concerto, piano, K.537, D major* (Coronation); *Fantasia, K.397, D minor.* Wanda Landowska, pf; Chamber orch. con. Walter Goehr. English Gramophone DB 3147-50.

*Così fan tutte: Come scoglio.* Reverse: *Le Coq d'Or: Hymn to the Sun* (Rimsky-Korsakov). Lina Pagliughi, s; Milan Sym. Orch. con. Ugo Tansini. English Parlophone E 11317.

*Don Giovanni: From Overture to Dalla sua pace; From Finch' han dal vino to Vedrai, carino.* Glyndebourne Festival Opera Co. con. Fritz Busch. Mozart Opera Society Vols. 7 and 8. English Gramophone.

*Don Giovanni: Il mio tesoro.* Reverse: *Don Pasquale: Com'è gentil* (Donizetti). Luigi Fort, t; orch. English Columbia DB 1690.

*Die Entführung aus dem Serail: Ach, ich liebe; Mätern aller Arten.* Margherita Perras, s; Berlin State Opera Orch. con. Bruno Seidler-Winkler. Victor 12007.

*Eine kleine Nachtmusik*, K.525. Vienna Phil. Orch. con. Bruno Walter. English Gramophone DB 3075-6.

*Quintet, clarinet and strings*, K.581, A major. Simeon Bellison, clar.; Roth String Quartet. Columbia set 293.

*Sonata, piano*, K.570, B-flat major. Walter Gieseking, pf. English Columbia LX 572-3.

*Sonata, violin and piano*, K.304, E minor. Joseph Szigeti, vln. Nikita Magaloff, pf. English Columbia LX 604.

*Symphony*, K.319, B-flat. Reverse: *Suite, orchestra*, no. 3, D major: *Air* (Bach). Edwin Fischer's Orch. English Gramophone DB 3083-5.

MUDARRA, ALONSO DE (See *Musique de la Renaissance*)

#### MUSIQUE DE LA RENAISSANCE

*Triste estaba el Rey David* (Mudarra); *De la sangre de Fus* (Mudarra); *Señora, si te olvidare* (Valderrábano); *Soneto: Al monte sale* (Valderrábano); *Durandarte* (Milan); *Perdida tengo la color* (Milan); *La mañana de San Juan* (Mudarra); *Come, Heavy Sleep* (Dowland); *Come Again* (Dowland); *Con lagrime e sospir* (Willaert); *It was a Lover* (Morley). Max Meili, t; Fritz Wörsching, lute. French Gramophone DB 5016-8.

#### MUZIO—SONG RECITAL

*Se tu m'ami* (Pergolesi); *O del mio amato ben* (Donaudy); *Umbra di nube* (Refice); *Ave Maria* (Refice); *Les Filles de Cadix* (Delibes); *C'est mon ami* (Arr. Crist); *Beau Soir* (Debussy); *Bonjour, Suzon* (Delibes); *Spirate pur, spirate* (Donaudy); *La ninna nanna della Vergine* (Mariä Wiegenlied) (Reger). Claudia Muzio, s; orch. con. Lorenzo Molajoli and L. Refice. Columbia set 289.

#### NICOLAI, OTTO

*Die lustigen Weiber von Windsor: Overture*. London Phil. Orch. con. Sir Thomas Beecham. Columbia 68938D.

PADEREWSKI, IGNACE JAN (See also *Beethoven*) *Thème varié*, Op. 16, no. 3 (Arr. Paderewski and Pochon). Stradivarius String Quartet. Columbia 68933D.

PALMGREN, SELIM (See *Sibelius*)

PERGOLESI, G. B. (See *Muzio—Song Recital*)

#### PIERNÉ, GABRIEL

*Prelude and Fugue*. The Curtis Woodwind Ensemble. con. Marcel Tabuteau. Victor 4332.

#### POULENC, FRANCIS

*Deux Novelettes pour Piano; Caprice pour Piano* (D'après le Final du "Bal Masqué"). Francis Poulenc, pf. Columbia 68919D.

PROKOFIEV, SERGE (See *Tchaikovsky*)

PUCCHINI, GIACOMO (See *Verdi*)

#### PURCELL, HENRY

*Fantasia no. 3*. Reverse: *Minuet and Fugue* (Haydn). Pasquier Trio. English Columbia DX 776.

#### RAMEAU, J. P.

*Dardanus: Airs de Ballet* (Arr. d'Indy). St. Louis Sym. Orch. con. Vladimir Golschmann. Reverse: *Trois Petites Pièces montées* (Satie). Sym. Orch. con. Pierre Chagnon. Columbia 68887D.

#### RAVEL, MAURICE

*Pièce en forme d'Habanera; Étude*, Op. 8, no. 10 (Scriabin-Szigeti). Reverse: *Sonata no. 3, D major; Chant russe; Rondo* (Weber-Szigeti). Joseph Szigeti, vln; Nikita Magaloff, pf. Columbia 68922D.

*Sainte; Sur l'herbe*. Pierre Bernac, t; Francis Poulenc, pf. French Gramophone DA 4891.

#### REGER, MAX

*Des Kindes Gebet*, Op. 76, no. 22; *Waldeinsamkeit*, Op. 76, no. 3. Anni Frind, s; orch. con. Bruno Seidler-Winkler. German Gramophone EG3643.

#### RESPIGI, OTTORINO

*Old Italian Airs and Lute Dances (Third suite)*. Quartetto di Roma. Victor 12019-20.

#### RIEGGER, WALLINGFORD

*Evocation*. Edwin Gerschefski, pf; Paul Creston, pf. Reverse: *Three Dance Movements* (Russell). Jessie Baetz, William Russell, Miles Dresskell, Henry Cowell, percussion. New Music Quarterly Recording Vol. III, nos. 7 and 8.

#### RIMSKY-KORSAKOV, NICOLAI (See also *Mozart*)

*Le Coq d'or: Hymne an die Sonne; The Tsar's Bride: Arie der Martha*. Miliza Korjus, s. orch. Victor 12021.

ROLDAN, AMADEO

*Cuban Songs: Aye me degeson negro; Sigüe; Mulata.* Judith Litante, s; Henry Brant, pf. Reverse: *Sonatine* (Jose Ardevol); *Short Prelude* (Alejandro Garcia Caturla). Henry Brant, pf; Estelle Best, pf. New Music Quarterly Recording Vol. III, nos. 5 and 6.

ROSSINI, GIOACCHINO

*Semiramide: Overture.* Philharmonic-Symphony Orch., New York. con. Arturo Toscanini. English Gramophone DB 3079-80.

SATIE, ERIK (See Rameau)

RUSSELL, WILLIAM (See Riegger)

SCHOENBERG, ARNOLD

*Klavierstück, Op. 11, no. 2.* Reverse: *Flammes sombres, Op. 73, no. 2* (Scriabin). Katherine Ruth Heyman, pf. Friends of Recorded Music 9.

SCHUBERT, FRANZ (See also Brahms)

*Der Doppelgänger (Schwanengesang, no. 12); Ständchen (Leise fliehen meine Lieder) (Schwanengesang, no. 4).* Louis Graveure, t; Waldemar von Vultée, pf. Polydor 10545.

*Der Erlkönig, Op. 1; Heidenröslein, Op. 3, no. 3; Ungeduld (Die schöne Müllerin, Op. 25; No. 4).* Alexander Kipnis, bass; Gerald Moore, pf. Columbia 9128M.

*Liebesbotschaft (Schwanengesang, no. 1); Litanei.* Elisabeth Schumann, s; pf. English Gramophone DA 1546.

*Marche Militaire, Op. 51, no. 1* (Arr. Tausig). Ignaz Friedman, pf. English Columbia DB 1688.

*Der Musensohn, Op. 92, no. 1; Des Fischers Liebesglück.* Elisabeth Schumann, s; Gerald Moore, pf. English Gramophone DA 1545.

*Ständchen (Schwanengesang, no. 4).* Reverse: *Die beiden Grenadiere, Op. 49, no. 1* (Schumann). Herbert Janssen, bar; Michael Raucheisen, pf. Danish Gramophone DB 3024.

*Der Tod und das Mädchen, Op. 7, no. 3; Die Forelle, Op. 32.* Marian Anderson, c; Kosti Vehanen, pf. French Gramophone DA 1550.

*Trio, Op. 99, B-flat major.* Elly Ney Trio. Decca Polydor X 157-60.

SCHUMANN, CLARA

*Ich stand in dunkeln Träumen, Op. 13, no.*

*1; Liebst du um Schönheit, Op. 12, no. 2.* Reverse: *Zigeunerliedchen, Op. 79, no. 7; Frühlings Ankunft, Op. 79, no. 19* (Robert Schumann). Ernst Wolff, bar; pf. by himself. Columbia 9126M.

SCHUMANN, ROBERT (See also Bach, Chopin, Schubert, and Schumann, Clara)

*Kreisleriana, Op. 16.* Alfred Cortot, pf. Gramophone DB 2608-11.

SCRIABIN, ALEXANDER (See also Ravel and Schoenberg)

*Sonata, piano, no. 4, F-sharp major, Op. 30.* Katherine Ruth Heyman, pf. Friends of Recorded Music 7.

SIBELIUS, JEAN

*Come away, Death.* Reverse: *Läksin minä Kesayona Kaymaan* (Arr. Palmgren); *Tuku tuku Lampaitani* (Arr. Vehanen). Marian Anderson, c; Kosti Vehanen, pf. Victor 1809.

STRAUSS, RICHARD

*Don Juan, Op. 20.* London Phil. Orch. con. Fritz Busch. Victor 11983-4.

*Der Rosenkavalier: Act 1, Arie des Sängers.* Reverse: *Vittoria, Vittoria* (Carissimi). Charles Kullman, t; orch. con. Fritz Zweig; Johannes Müller. Columbia 4153M.

SZYMANOWSKI, KAROL

*Romance, Op. 23; Chant de Roxane* (Arr. Kochanski). Temianka, vl; pf. English Parlophone E 11321.

TCHAIKOVSKY, PETER ILTYICH

*Concerto, violin, Op. 35, D major.* Jascha Heifetz, vln; London Phil. Orch. con. John Barbirolli. English Gramophone DB 3159-62.

*Divertissement (Variations from "The Sleeping Beauty"), Op. 66.* Orchestre Symphonique. con. J. E. Szyfer. dir. Serge Lifar. Columbia 68934D.

*Marche slave, Op. 31.* Boston "Pops" Orch. con. Arthur Fiedler. Victor 12006.

*Roméo et Juliette, Overture-Fantaisie.* Reverse: *The Love for Three Oranges, Op. 33; March and Scherzo* (Prokofiev). Boston Sym. Orch. con. Serge Koussevitzky. English Gramophone DB 3165-7.

*Symphony no. 6, B minor, Op. 74 (Pathétique).* Philadelphia Orch. con. Eugene Ormandy. Victor set M-337.

TESSIER, CHARLES (See Lasso)

VALDERRÁBANO, ENRIQUEZ DE (See *Musique de la Renaissance*)

VERDI, GIUSEPPE

*Aida: Celeste Aida*. Reverse *Bohème: Che gelida manina* (Puccini). Jussi Björling, t; orch. Austrian Gramophone DB 3049.

*Rigoletto: La donna è mobile*. Reverse: *Tosca: Recondita armonia* (Puccini). Jussi Björling, t; orch. English Gramophone DA 1548.

VIVALDI, ANTONIO

*Suite in A major* (Arr. Busch). Jascha Heifetz, vln; Arpad Sandor, pf. Victor 1810.

WAGNER, RICHARD

*Die Meistersinger: Act II, Omi, c'est vous*. Germaine Martinelli, s; Georges Thill, t; orch. con. Eugène Bigot. *Act III, L'aube vermeille brillait*. Georges Thill, t; orch. con. Eugène Bigot. Columbia 9125M.

*Die Meistersinger: Act III, Dance of the Apprentices; Entrance of the Mastersingers*. Philadelphia Orch. con. Eugene Ormandy. Victor 1807.

*Rienzi: Act I, Erstehe, hohe Roma; Act V, Gebet (Allmächt'ger Vater)*. Franz Völker,

t; Berlin State Opera Ch. and Orch. con. Alois Melichar. Polydor 67100.

*Siegfried Idyll*. Grand Orchestre Philharmonique de Paris. con. Selmar Meyrowitz. Columbia set X-74.

WALTON, WILLIAM

*Portsmouth Point, Overture*. British Broadcasting Co. Sym. Orch. con. Adrian Boult. Victor 4327.

WARLOCK, PETER

*Capriol Suite*. Constant Lambert's String Orch. English Gramophone C 2904.

WEBER, CARL MARIA VON (See also *Scriabin*)

*Aufforderung zum Tanze, Op. 65*. Ignaz Friedman, pf. Columbia 68920D.

*Der Freischütz: Overture*. London Phil. Orch. con. Sir Thomas Beecham. English Columbia LX 601.

*Der Freischütz: Nein, länger trag' ich nicht die Qualen (Durch die Wälder)*. Helge Roswaenge, t; Berlin State Opera Orch. Danish Gramophone DA 4418.

WILLAERT, ADRIAN (See *Musique de la Renaissance*)



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